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CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

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ALBANIA

Premier Carcani Attends Cooperativist Seminar B 1
Haxhi Lleshi Receives Pakistani Ambassador B 1
Briefs: Haxhi Lleshi Activities B 1

BULGARIA

Todorov-Led Delegation Departs for Yugoslavia C 1
Mladenov Meets Swedish King, Foreign Minister C 1
Lyudmila Zhivkova Foundation Formed in Sofia C 2
Zhivkov Presented With Book on Zhivkova C 2
Zhivkov, Others Attend Teachers' Congress C 2
Ministerial Decision on Self-Sufficiency System C 3
[OTECHESTVEN FRONT 4 Mar]
Growth, Composition of Trade With USSR Outlined C 3

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ's Pitra Departs for Moscow 9 Mar D 1
Kapek Leads Prague City Delegation to USSR D 1
PRAVDA Says U.S. 'Sabotaging' Madrid Meeting D 1
CSSR-Polish Friendship Treaty Anniversary Marked D 1
[Bratislava PRAVDA 6 Mar]
Slovak Premier Views Economic Prospects D 2
[Bratislava PRAVDA 5 Mar]
RUDE PRAVO Articles, Reports on PCI Policy D 6
Husak Addresses Women's Union on Women's Day D 7
'Balloon Action' Over Poland a 'Provocation' D 8

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

More on 'Arafat's Arrival, Activities 9 Mar E 1
Arrival Ceremonies E 1
Talks With Honecker E 1
Honecker Dinner Speech E 2
'Arafat Dinner Speech E 4
Unpublished Portions of Honecker Speech Cited E 5
[Loelhoeffel in Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG 9 Mar]
More FRG Reportage on New Defense Bill E 6
[Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 9 Mar]
Difficulties in Obtaining Eurocredits Reported E 7
[Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 9 Mar]
West Berliner Convicted for Transit Abuse E 7
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 6-7 Mar]

HUNGARY

New Computer Technology Products Developed F 1
MSZMP Officials Present Awards to Party Veterans F 1
Industry Minister Addresses Industrial Conference F 1
Lazar, Others Attend Women's Day Meeting F 2
Losonczi Greets Women F 2
Minister Veress Views Foreign Trade Balance F 3
PZPR Institute Delegation Ends Visit 6 Mar F 4
Gyenes Leads MSZMP Delegation to Portugal F 4

DPRK Foreign Minister Arrives, Meets Puja F 4
Lao Delegation Arrives for Economic Talks F 4
Deputy Premier Marjai Pays Visit to Mexico F 4
[cross-reference]

POLAND

Release of 110 Internees Reported in Silesia G 1
Official Deplores U.S. Denial of Fishing Zones G 1
Radio Denounces Launch of Balloons From Denmark G 1
PZPR Youth Commission Head Czechowicz Interview G 2
[SZTANDAR MLODYCH 5-7 Mar]
PZPR Agriculture Heads Discuss Economic Reform G 5
[TRYBUNA LUDU 6-7 Mar]
General Milczarek PZPR Plenum Address G 6
[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 5 Mar]
Daily Reports People's Councils Resume Sessions G 8
[TRYBUNA LUDU 5 Mar]
Minister Ciosek Views Future of Trade Unions G 8
[TRYBUNA LUDU 6-7 Mar]
Committee Issues Statement on Trade Union Theses G 9
Press Commentaries on Future Trade Union Role G 10
TRYBUNA LUDU on Strike Rights G 10
More From TRYBUNA LUDU G 11
Past TU Activity Analyzed G 11
[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI]
Structure, Elements Discussed G 12
Reportage on PZPR Leadership Activities G 12
Jaruzelski at Army Unit G 12
Romanik, Grzyb at Meetings G 12
More on Basic Party Organization Meetings G 13
ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium Meets 9 Mar G 13
Further Assessment G 13
Bishops Arrive in Rome for Vatican Talks G 14
Glemp Delivers Pope's Gift to Hospital G 14
TV Shows Documents Published by Solidarity G 15
Detainees Denounce Government Offer of 'Exile' G 15
[AFP]
Solidarity Bulletin Raps Conditions for Internees G 16
[AFP]
Solidarity Newsletter Lists 'Wanted' Officials G 17
[AFP]
Trial Continues for KPN Leader Moczulski G 17
Former Koszalin Officials Tried for Corruption G 17
Mayor Receives Prison Term G 17
Sports Director Sentenced G 17
Adam Michnik's Prison Article on Situation G 18
[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 8 Mar]

ROMANIA

Mining Minister Meets USSR Ministers in Moscow H 1
Verdet, Avram Receive Bulgaria's Chakurov H 1
Trade Expansion H 1
Visit Ruse Site H 1
SCINTEIA Reports Olteanu's Visit to Prague [6 Mar] H 1
Ion Tudor Appointed New Minister of Tourism H 2
U.N. Ambassador Addresses Law of the Sea Session H 2
Press Reports on Fate of Immigrants in West H 3
Economic Talks, Protocol Signed With Britain H 3
Syrian Delegation Meets Ceausescu, Signs Program H 4
Cooperation Program H 4
Ceausescu Receives Delegation H 4

YUGOSLAVIA

Protest Lodged Over Slayings in Belgium	I	1
Kraigher Addresses Kosovo Presidency, Ends Tour	I	1
Speech to Presidency 8 Mar	I	1
Visits Two Plants	I	3
Meets Aktiv, Ends Visit	I	4
Serbian Assembly To Discuss Kosovo 12 March	I	4
Serbian SAWP Presidium Session Held 9 Mar	I	4
Two Nominations Endorsed	I	4
POLITIKA Chief Replaced	I	4
Assembly Committee Approves Security Report	I	5
Vranje Sentences Three for Smuggling Ammunition	I	5
Moscow Naming of City Square After Tito Noted	I	5

PREMIER CARCANI ATTENDS COOPERATIVIST SEMINAR

AU071525 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 6 Mar 82

[Summary] The Ministry of Agriculture, Shkoder District AWP Committee, and its People's Council Executive Committee organized today in Dajc, on the banks of the Buene river, a national aktiv to discuss the tasks which result from Enver Hoxha's letter to Dajc cooperativists. Taking part were chairmen of the various district people's council executive committees; directors of agricultural sectors; directors of agricultural cooperatives, enterprises, machinery and tractor stations' cadres and specialists of the agricultural sector from various districts; and representatives of various departments and scientific-research institutes. Also present was Adil Carcani, Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Agricultural Minister Themie Thomai opened the aktiv. Those present discussed the work being carried out in all districts for "continually improving the method and style, scientific organization and management in the agricultural sector" by following examples of various distinguished cooperatives and enterprises. Particular attention was paid to "the determination of tasks according to the experience of Dajc cooperative for better scientific organization and management of work and agricultural and livestock production." Adil Carcani spoke about the Dajc cooperative as one of the best in agriculture. He said that examples of distinguished economies were important in testifying to the possibilities for further intensifying agriculture. These successes were a result of the party leadership, reliance on the masses' line and the ideas of the specialists and qualified agricultural workers. He then spoke about the spring sowing campaign and further directions in the livestock sector.

HAXHI LLESHI RECEIVES PAKISTANI AMBASSADOR

AU061944 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 6 Mar 82

[Text] Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received on the premises of the presidium of the people's Assembly Abdul Vaheed, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who presented his credentials.

The ceremony was attended by Nesti Nase, minister of foreign affairs, Xhafer Spahiu, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Ndreci Rizo, vice-director of the First Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Jovan Antoni, chief of the Protocol Branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

BRIEFS

HAXHI LLESHI ACTIVITIES -- Gjirokaster District People's Council met to examine the fulfillment of the Sixth 5-Year Plan and budget and of the 1982 plan and budget. The council also determined the tasks for the current year and for the current 5-year period as a whole. The meeting was also attended by the chairmen of the people's councils of joined villages, managers of enterprises and chairmen of agricultural cooperatives. It was also attended Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The pertinent report was delivered by Resul Zani, chairman of the District People's Council Executive Committee. He stated that during 1981 the overall social product increased labor productivity; income increased 9 percent, investments 6 percent; overall industrial output was fulfilled 104.7 percent and the production of bread grains increased by 2,130 tons. Haxhi Lleshi also addressed the meeting. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 20 Feb 82 AU]

TODOROV-LED DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR YUGOSLAVIA

AU100927 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 10 Mar 82

[Text] At the invitation of the president of the SFRY Assembly, a Bulgarian parliamentary delegation led by Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the National Assembly, left for Belgrade a short while ago. Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary, is also a member of the delegation. The delegation was seen off at Sofia Airport by deputy chairmen of the national assembly and other officials as well as by Danilo Puric, Yugoslav ambassador to Bulgaria.

MLADENOV MEETS SWEDISH KING, FOREIGN MINISTER

AU100955 Sofia BTA in English 0835 GMT 10 Mar 82

[Text] Stockholm, 10 Mar (BTA) -- Yesterday Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs who is on an official visit here, was received by the King of Sweden, Carl XVI Gustaf, to whom he delivered Mr Todor Zhivkov's personal greetings. In a friendly atmosphere discussion went on questions related to bilateral relations and satisfaction was expressed with their favourable development. It was pointed out that for the Bulgaro-Swedish relations there are good prospects which can be successfully utilized to the benefit of the two peoples. Views were exchanged also on some international matters.

At the official talks between Mr Petur Mladenov and his Swedish counterpart Mr Ola Ullsten, there was found the success in the development of the political, economic and cultural relations between Bulgaria and Sweden. The two ministers expressed their conviction that neither the differences in the two countries' social order and in the points of view on some international matters, nor their geographical remoteness can impede the expanding and deepening of the mutually advantageous relations in different spheres. They said that for such a cooperation both countries must demonstrate a good will and wish. It was noted that there are a number of untapped possibilities, especially as far as the techno-scientific cooperation and the new forms of economic contacts -- joint industrial production and joint entry to third countries -- are concerned. Pointing to the considerable advance of the bilateral cultural ties, Mr Mladenov and Mr Ullsten assessed it highly as a considerable contribution to the mutual acquaintance of the Bulgarian and Swedish peoples.

The two ministers paid attention to the danger created by the efforts made by certain circles in some countries to impose on the world the policy of confrontation despite of the will of the people to live in peace and cooperation. They reaffirmed their countries' point of view that the only way of healing the international climate is through negotiations on all disputable questions by strictly regarding the principles of equality, equal security and non-interference with the countries' internal affairs.

Minister Petur Mladenov stressed that now it is of exclusive importance to create conditions for adopting a balanced final act at the Madrid meeting containing a decision for convening a conference for military detente and disarmament in Europe. He said that the draft proposed by the neutral and non-aligned countries is a good basis for such a document.

Mr Mladenov and Mr Ullsten expressed hope that the negotiations between the USSR and the USA will lead to the limitation of the nuclear weapons in Europe and to reducing the arms race in the world. On a number of other questions the two countries views expressed were similar or pointing to the same direction.

Mr Mladenov was received by Mr Thorbjorn Falldin, Sweden's prime-minister. Discussed were concrete questions related to Bulgaro-Swedish relations and special importance was given to the possibilities for activating the economic contacts. Exchanged were views also on the problems of peace and security in Europe. The Bulgarian minister visited the Swedish parliament and had talks with its speaker Mr Ingemund Bengtsson.

LYUDMILA ZHIVKOVA FOUNDATION FORMED IN SOFIA

AU091957 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Summary] The first constituent session of the founding committee of the "Lyudmila Zhivkova" international foundation was held at the Sofia Palace of Culture today. Eminent political, cultural and economic personalities, as well as public figures from various countries of the world are members of this committee. Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Culture Committee, addressed the audience on behalf of the Bulgarian public and government:

[Begin recording] "I hope to express our common opinion in stating that we are united by one thought, by one aspiration, namely peace and peaceful cooperation for the sake of a constant upsurge of culture, for the sake of social progress. We are inspired by the bright memory and the lofty humanitarian cause represented by Lyudmila Zhivkova. She was a remarkable daughter of our nation, a brilliant personality of our cultural life, a loyally devoted builder of contemporary Bulgaria. All her humanitarian ideas and aspirations toward harmony and beauty, unity and creativity, peace and friendship, as well as all the achievements of her short life rewarded her with the love and respect of the people in her homeland and broad public circles in many foreign countries." [end recording]

The participants in the session exchanged opinions on the establishment and future activities of the foundation. The tasks of the foundation deal with intensifying political, economic and cultural relations among peoples for the sake of the future, the speakers pointed out at the session. These are also the ideas of the "Banner of Peace Movement" which was initiated by Lyudmila Zhivkova. This movement is a comprehensive embodiment of our country's peace-loving foreign policy. Vladimir Zhivkov, chief secretary of the "Banner of Peace" center, stated that the motto of beauty, creativity and harmony will attract and unite an increasing number of adherents and followers, especially this year when we are expecting the events of the second assembly.

"The participants in the session of the founding committee for the 'Lyudmila Zhivkova' foundation adopted an appeal to cultural workers throughout the world, in which they express confidence that they will join their efforts to the benefit of peace and human development, that they will inspire young people with trust that our world, for the sake of life and for the future of our children, is striving toward a peaceful and creative future of mankind." Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of the founding committee, closed the session.

ZHIVKOV PRESENTED WITH BOOK ON ZHIVKOVA

AU082048 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, has received Lorenzo Gallo, secretary general of the Executive Committee of the "Golden Mercury" international association. Lorenzo Gallo presented to Comrade Todor Zhivkov a volume entitled "A Country Called Bulgaria" containing selected works by Lyudmila Zhivkova, published by the association. Lorenzo Gallo expressed his high appreciation for Lyudmila Zhivkova's comprehensive activities devoted to the consolidation of peace and cooperation among peoples. Comrade Todor Zhivkov expressed his cordial gratitude to Lorenzo Gallo. The meeting, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee of Culture.

ZHIVKOV, OTHERS ATTEND TEACHERS' CONGRESS

AU091125 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Summary] "The 24th congress of the Bulgarian Teachers Union has begun at the Universiade Hall in Sofia. The delegates and the guests attending the congress cordially welcomed Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Aleksandur, Lilov, Milko Balev, Tsola Dragoycheva, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Chudomir Aleksandrov and Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council. The first session was opened by academician Sava Ganovski." Ani Spancheva, chairman of the union's Central Committee, read a report.

MINISTERIAL DECISION ON SELF-SUFFICIENCY SYSTEM

AU052010 [Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 4 March carries on pages 1 and 2 a 6,000-word report on a 2 March Council of Ministers' decision on creating a comprehensive self-sufficiency system of basic agricultural products. The decree stresses that for the self-sufficiency system to be more workable it must comply with the 12th BCP Congress decisions and with the new economic mechanism. It adds that in order to secure agricultural production and meet the people's food needs, the National Agroindustrial Union Central Council should be responsible for supplying food products throughout the country, while the okrug people's councils and the okrug agroindustrial unions will be responsible for supplying the okrugs. The municipal people's councils, the agroindustrial complexes and the other economic organizations will be responsible for the food supply of the people residing in more populated areas.

The decision also deals with the status of the private plots, explaining that they can be cultivated by workers, employees and pensioners that are not involved in agricultural work and that have their own land. Hired manpower is strictly forbidden in any form. It also discusses the creation of additional farms that are attached to some enterprises, offices, schools and to military and other establishments which are supposed to produce vegetables, fruits, other agricultural goods as fodder as well as raise cattle to improve the food in their canteens. In this respect, the leaderships of agroindustrial complexes and other agricultural organizations are supposed to organize the supply to the private plots and additional farms with the necessary services, agricultural machines and other items as defined by the National Agroindustrial Union Central Council.

In its second chapter, the decision further deals with the problems connected with the planning and accountability of the self-sufficiency system; the most rational utilization and management of the land; ways to obtain more meat, milk, eggs and freshwater fish; measures outlined for increasing production of fruits and vegetables; the problem of purchase and sale of agricultural products, and finally how the self-sufficiency system should be managed.

GROWTH, COMPOSITION OF TRADE WITH USSR OUTLINED

AU091059 Sofia BTA in English 0800 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Sofia, 9 Mar (BTA) -- In the last decade Bulgaro-Soviet trade has been growing on the average by about 14 per cent a year. This is the highest growth rate of the trade exchange carried out by the Soviet Union with another country. Bilateral trade has been growing at rates outstripping the development rates of the material production branches in both countries.

In the years of the seventh five-year period (1976-1980) the volume of mutual deliveries amounted to 28 milliard roubles. This index exceeds the volume of the trade exchange between the two countries in the three previous five-year periods taken together. The Soviet Union is Bulgaria's biggest trading partner, while Bulgaria ranks third or fourth in importance among the trading partners of the Soviet Union. In the eight five-year period mutual deliveries at comparable prices are expected to exceed the 40 milliard roubles mark.

Bulgaria meets with Soviet exports nearly 60 per cent of her requirements in machinery and installations, 98 per cent of her needs in coal, 93 per cent of her demands in oil, 87 per cent of the coke and 100 per cent of the block steel she needs. The Soviet market takes in 60 per cent of machinery and installations exported by Bulgaria, 85 per cent of her dress-making industry exports, 92 per cent of her knitwear exports, 87 per cent of the exports of leather goods and 86 per cent of the leather shoes exported by this country.

CPCZ'S PITRA DEPARTS FOR MOSCOW 9 MAR

LD091240 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Frantisek Pitra, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, flew today to Moscow at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. In the Soviet Union he will exchange experiences of implementing the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and of the 26th CPSU Congress on agriculture and food.

KAPEK LEADS PRAGUE CITY DELEGATION TO USSR

LD090950 Prague CTK in English 0926 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Prague, 9 Mar (CTK) -- A delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Prague city committee, led by its leading secretary and party Presidium member Antonin Kapek, left today for an official friendly visit to Moscow.

During its four-day stay in the Soviet capital, the delegation will get acquainted with the tasks of the Moscow party organization in the introduction of science and research to practice and with the housing construction, and will visit several plants and enterprises.

PRAVDA SAYS U.S. 'SABOTAGING' MADRID MEETING

LD090940 Prague CTK in English 0815 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Bratislava, 9 Mar (CTK) -- The tactics of obstructions, used by the delegations of the U.S. and other NATO member states at the Madrid meeting, has brought negative results, today's Slovak daily PRAVDA said.

The U.S. avoids any real dialogue, and uses just aggressive monologues, the daily stressed, adding that the search for reasonable, generally acceptable compromises is part of any diplomatic conference. This was the aim of the Helsinki conference which managed to harmonize the political will of the participating states and achieve reasonable compromises, serving the cause of peace without trying to remove the differences in ideology or social systems.

The U.S. which has not managed to undermine the Madrid meeting immediately after its resumption, decided to sabotage it by unconstructive standpoints, PRAVDA said.

CSSR-POLISH FRIENDSHIP TREATY ANNIVERSARY MARKED

AU091402 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Mar 82 p 2

[CTK report: "On the Anniversary of the Czechoslovak-Polish Treaty"]

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the signing of the treaty of friendship and mutual assistance between the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic, the Embassy of the Polish People's Republic, together with the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, gave a press conference in Prague yesterday. K. Szewczyk, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Polish People's Republic in the CSSR, said that the Polish-Czechoslovak friendship goes back to the very beginning of our nations' history. But only in the past 35 years, in the new social conditions, has this friendship acquired a new standard, quality and intensity. The ideas contained in the treaty have already been affirmed several times in the history of the two countries' nations.

They are also acquitting themselves well now that Poland is overcoming its political and economic crisis. The CSSR was among the first socialist countries to extend an large-scale international economic assistance to the Polish People's Republic. About 8,000 Polish workers are employed in the CSSR at present. Machine tools, textile and agricultural machinery and trucks are Czechoslovak products which are especially useful in the Polish national economy. Our republic also delivers kaolin, magnesite and special glass to our northern neighbors. Cultural relations have also been expanded considerably.

SLOVAK PREMIER VIEWS ECONOMIC PROSPECTS

AU091504 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Mar 82 p 3

[Interview with Peter Colotka, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovak premier by PRAVDA chief editor Bohus Travnicek: "We Will Multiply Positively and Resolve Shortcomings" -- date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Colotka] The 1982 plan, which was assessed at the Fifth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee and the follow-up session of the CPSL Central Committee, and approved by the CSSR Government and the governments of the republics, prescribes on the whole a slower dynamist of development compared with previous years. This, however, does not apply to all branches; some are developing more slowly, some again fairly rapidly.

For some sectors and branches, dependent on imported raw materials -- such as the primary crude oil processing, ferrous metallurgy and for the highly energy-intensive branches, such as cement production -- the plan prescribes a slower pace and in some cases even reduced production.

On the other hand, the plan sets a fairly rapid pace for the production growth in the sectors and branches processing domestic raw and other materials, especially for the paper and pulp industry, for the wood-processing and furniture industries as well as for those sectors that can best increase the value of their material input, that is, mainly general and heavy engineering, the electro-technical industry, some branches of the processing and sophisticated chemical industry and others. These would be, in particular, those that constitute technically advanced production, so important from the viewpoint of satisfying the domestic needs of the economy and the population, as well as from the viewpoint of increasing the share of sophisticated work in our exports.

This year's plan sets extraordinarily exacting tasks for the agriculture and food industry. The rapid pace of growth of the plant production does not stem only from the past, less bountiful year, but means achieving record harvests in practically all key staples. Also the planned dynamism of the development of the animal production, although slower, can in no case be regarded as easy.

In this period, after the increase of prices for some kinds of meat and meat products, we have placed emphasis on the meat industry and trade supplying the customer with quality wares, and on stricter controls as regards the honesty in sales.

We shall devote special attention to the progress of the construction of important projects, such as the Mochovce nuclear power plant and the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros waterworks.

A characteristic feature of the investment plan is also the increased orientation toward modernization and technical reconstruction of the basic assets. So far we cannot by any means be satisfied with its extent, however.

We also have a great untapped potential as regards the utilization of the possibilities of international scientific-technical cooperation, especially with the Soviet Union. Some of the hitherto positive results, for example in the sphere of robotics, advanced chemistry and so forth, unequivocally confirm the effectiveness and importance of such a pooling of forces in sectors that demand a great scientifc and research potential and great material resources.

At present -- in cooperation with the Slovak Academy of Sciences -- we are undertaking further steps leading to a closer interconnecting of the basic and applied research and economic practice. As an example I can name the program of the comprehensive utilization of the lignocellulose raw materials, the development and utilization of biological sciences and some questions pertaining to the development of cybernetics and robotics.

Last year we had certain problems with placing graduates, especially graduates from university-level schools. That was caused by several factors, such as the slower implementation of the results of the scientific-technical development in practice, the slow substitution of employees without the necessary qualifications for the job they held, the rise in the number of pensioners holding professional occupations, the more than planned number of graduates, the fairly uncontrolled extent of the night school study as well as a certain slowdown of the dynamism of development in certain production branches and the construction industry. The situation was further complicated by the fact that there were deviations from the plan in the structure of graduates in the individual study disciplines. On the basis of the measures adopted later by the government, the problems with the placing of graduates in 1981 had been resolved.

We are aware that we will also have a complex situation this year when, in addition to the aforementioned problems, there also will be an increased number of graduates as a result of the latest amendment of the length of study and of the measures aimed at reducing the management and the administrative apparatus. The governments of the CSSR and the Slovak Socialist Republic and the presidium of the CPSL Central Committee have already discussed these problems and are in the process of taking measures for the individual departments to employ the set number of graduates. We do not want to reintroduce the "placement cards," ["umiestenky"], but we will proceed in such a way as to offer a job to every graduate of a university-level school. Naturally, not all will be able to find jobs in big cities, important industrial centers or in the vicinity of them. We expect that our young people will comprehend the necessity of harmonizing their interests with the interests of the society and will start working where our society needs them.

In the chemical industry we will focus on sophisticated small-volume chemistry, with a special emphasis on a more thorough utilization of crude oil.

Furthermore, we are taking measures for the chemical industry in Slovakia to reach qualitatively higher parameters of chemical fibres, to produce technologically advanced agents for the rubber and plastics industry, good quality materials for furniture manufacturers and the necessary raw materials for the pharmaceutical industry, and also to develop in some other fields to simultaneously create good conditions for effective international exchange.

Currently we are also implementing significant structural changes in the timber-processing industry where we are virtually completing the stage of the longtime endeavor to comprehensively utilize raw timber, especially leaf wood which we have not sufficiently utilized so far. Our aim is above all to attain the projected performance and planned pulp output in the new pulp mill complexes in Ruzomberok, Vranov and Zilina. We also want to improve the utilization of raw timber by improving the performance of the primary furniture industry and the production of furniture itself.

We fully realize that closer economic cooperation among the CEMA countries is becoming literally a vital, essential need, especially today when the imperialist powers are stepping up their discriminatory trends and embargoes on the export of top technology. We still have great untapped reserves and potentials in this respect, especially in cooperation with the Soviet Union as was pointed out at the talks between Comrade Brezhnev and Comrade Husak and during contacts of CPCZ and CPSL Central Committee secretaries and ministers with the corresponding USSR party and state bodies.

The basis for developing our cooperation with the Soviet Union is the long-term program of specialization and production sharing between the CSSR and the USSR. Several important tasks ensue from this program for the economy run by the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic, especially for the chemical and petrochemical industries.

For example, our chemical industry will concentrate on the basis of the concluded agreements on the production of polyvinyl chloride, ingredients for polymer materials and chemical herbicides, auxiliary textile agents, and ingredients for paints and varnishes. This exchange is advantageous for us because these are essentially sophisticated low-volume chemical products that are less energy intensive and for which we will receive basic chemical products that are more energy intensive. The enterprises of the Slovchemia economic production unit also take part in the deliveries of specialized products in the rubber industry. This concerns products such as conveyer belts, tires for trucks, large-diameter hoses and spiral hoses.

In the light and timber-processing industries, too, multilateral and bilateral agreements have been concluded with the CEMA countries, in the fulfillment of which enterprises from Slovakia take part. There is, for example, cooperation in the area of designated types of school and office furniture, sports equipment, production of small machinery for the garment industry and other productions.

The organs of the Slovak Socialist Republic will also continue to create conditions within the framework of their activity for the federally run, especially engineering, enterprises so as to enable the successful fulfillment of their tasks in the area of specialization and production sharing within CEMA framework. This applies above all to the construction of a new plant for the production of asynchronous electric motors in Michalovce, to the completion of production facilities for nuclear power plant installations in the Ses Tlmace enterprise, or to assistance in acquiring and stabilizing manpower for important production programs such as hydraulics, electronics, agricultural machinery for mountaineous areas, production plants for powdered milk and the like.

All conceptual intentions and measures in agriculture are aimed chiefly at achieving a balanced development of plant and animal production. In view of the natural conditions in Slovakia, we still have considerable untapped potentials in plant production, mainly in the production of bulk fodder on meadows and pastures. We must adapt the structure of animal production to this, that means that preference must be given to cattle and sheep breeding. However, the rate of our progress will to a considerable extent depend on the possibility to establish the material prerequisites -- on the mechanization of cultivation and harvest-related fieldwork and on storage and stable facilities. However, at any rate we will have to proceed soberly and with prudence because any growth of animal production that is based on the import of grain fodder at the price of state's indebtedness is unacceptable.

It is no honor to the managerial nor the research agricultural bodies that for years the per hectare yields of potatoes have been virtually stagnating. We reemphasize that our experts must finally take a more resolute step toward a remedy. By ensuring good quality and healthy potato seedlings, selecting suitable plots, including plots in new regions, consistently observing agrotechnology and improving the organization of the harvest and storage we must, on the one hand, increase the yields and, on the other hand, prevent losses, regardless of whether they result from rot or from careless harvest and post-harvest treatment.

The question of vegetable and fruit growing is assuming a new dimension, in view of the fact that in supplying the market we will not be able to rely on imports to the same extent as heretofore, be it for price or other reasons. After all, we have the conditions to cover with our own production the need for virtually all types of fruit and vegetable grown in the temperate zone.

Even the best and clearest concept of agricultural development would be of little use if we failed to implement it through managerial work. That is why the government, using the channels of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the People's Congrol Committee of the Slovak Socialist Republic, will endeavor to improve managerial and control work in the agricultural administrations and directly in the enterprises, to ensure above all that they apply more promptly the results of science and research in practice, significantly improve the handling of fodder, fertilizers, herbicides and pesticides, and fuels and energy, especially diesel oil, and take better care of the maintenance of agricultural technology.

In the years of the Fifth and Sixth 5-Year Plans the building industry witnessed a rapid growth and the implementation of the construction program was unavoidably linked with a certain tension, which the participants in construction did not always succeed in fully mastering. It must also be self-critically said that the government, the planning agencies and the ministries did not always resist in time and sufficiently pressures from economic production units, enterprises and national committees and the habit to begin a new investment project at any price so that it becomes part of the plan, even when the course of construction keeps being extended and its effect is thus delayed.

That is why we entered the Seventh 5-Year Plan both statewide and in the Slovak Socialist Republic with a great number of unfinished projects, the remnants of budgeted costs representing a reserve amounting to 3.2 years worth of construction work.

To resolve this problem, the Federal Government and the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic decided to reduce in the plans for the last 2 years the extent of newly started investment projects, not to include in them projects that had not been prepared in terms of blueprints, and to concentrate the suppliers' capacities on the most important projects from an all-social viewpoint, especially production facilities, giving preference to investment projects connected with a solution of the fuel-power base and of tasks in exports and in import substitution. We want to continue this line in 1982, and even more distinctly. We are aware that such an orientation of capital construction confronts our builders with a very complicated task since the share of ground work and other types of work that are relatively easy to fulfill is being reduced in the structure of their work while the share of finishing work requiring workmanship is being increased. Last year's results show that they did not succeed in coming sufficiently to terms with these structural changes and it must be critically said that the sector's and the economic production units' managerial personnel, though the solution of this problem has been emphasized for a long time, have not created in time the necessary prerequisites in material and technical supplies and in terms of cadres.

Federal and the republics' bodies have prepared -- in view of the building industry's unsatisfactory results in the last few years, not only in Slovakia but statewide -- a draft of measures that will be discussed by the Federal Government and the two republics' governments and that will also be submitted to the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CPSL Central Committee Presidium. The purpose of these measures is to create for the building industry conditions in the area of planning and the territorial preparation, in deliveries of machinery, assembly work and materials, and in other areas to make it possible for it to fulfill its tasks evenly. As regards the construction sector itself, the measures are aimed at raising its overall performance. This must be brought about by improvements in managerial and organizational work, a more intensive application of khozraschet [economic accountability], by raising the demands on order, discipline, quality of work and the utilization of working hours, and the like.

I think that the completion of work on the preparation of the Seventh 5-Year Plan will be of significance for consolidating the building industry. This will make it possible to clarify the building industry's program up to 1985 and to deal subsequently with supplier-consignee relations and with the structure of capacities.

Owing to the rapid growth of our people's material consumption, especially in the course of the seventies, the problem of balance between purchasing power and the available merchandise is being increasingly shifted from a general balance to a balance in the required range, selection and quality of products.

This raises the demands on the quality of the research and prognosis of demand and consumption as well as on the producers' more flexible adaptation to the consumers' requirements. We must candidly admit that there are shortcomings in this respect, on the part of production as well as on the part of trade. At some places this is caused by problems in raw and other materials or in the [limited] production capacity. These problems can be gradually resolved, greater care and a more conceptual approach provided. However, what is largely responsible for these shortcomings is the producers' harmful inertia, their insistence on established production lines and belated response to the development of needs and changes in fashion. Lack of flexibility in solving the economic interest in the production of commodities that are in short supply is also sometimes responsible.

The negotiations on supplier-consignee relations for this year have shown that the production sectors have approached the solution of these problems with much greater political understanding and an improvement of the situation, though not the elimination of all problems can be expected. The completion of some production facilities in the paper industry for example, will also contribute to it. As far as the domestic trade's commercial policy is concerned, it will concentrate much more on the import of scarce commodities, even though this will have an impact on the diversity of the range of other products.

I have just spoken about scarce commodities. However, on the other hand, we also encounter cases of there not being sufficient demand for some types of products on the domestic market. Last year we had such problems with furniture and some types of knitwear. That is why the Ministry of Industry analyzes the situation together with the trade sector and draws up forecasts of furniture sales, to be able to take on this basis measures in the furniture industry's structure and its range of products. A similar approach is being taken to clarify the sales of knitwear.

An important part of improving the quality aspects of our population's living standards are also various types of paid services. These services should satisfy people's needs more fully so that they should not be so often dependant on "moonlighters." That is why federal and national agencies have jointly prepared, on the basis of a CPCZ Central Committee Presidium resolution, a draft for the further development of services. In accordance with this draft, a complex of measures should be worked out and implemented, aimed among other things at solving the material-technical base, supplies of materials and spare parts, wage and price issues, economic incentives and organizational forms, including an expedient integration of private small-scale producers according to specific local conditions.

RUDE PRAVO ARTICLES, REPORTS ON PCI POLICY

AU081301 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 4 and 5 March, on page 7 in each instance, carries in two installments a 4,800-word CTK Moscow dispatch entitled "Soviet Journal NOVOYE VREMYA on the Positions of the Leadership of the Italian Communist Party [PCI]." The dispatch cites a NOVOYE VREMYA round-up of statements by representatives of communist parties and their press organs on the policy of the PCI leadership, published in the Soviet weekly's 5 March issue.

On 5 March on page 7 RUDE PRAVO also carries a 350-word CTK Bonn dispatch on an undated article in UNSERE ZEIT, organ of the German Communist Party, entitled "Who Is Served by the Publication of this Interview?" The UNSERE ZEIT article criticizes statements made by PCI Secretary General Berlinguer in his recent interview for the West German weekly DER SPIEGEL.

On 6 March on page 1, in its "Letter of the Day" column, RUDE PRAVO publishes a 200-word letter from Frantisek Vondra from Zalhostice entitled "What Are They Actually Aiming At?" In it the writer endorses the recent RUDE PRAVO article "On a Dangerous Road," which analyzed the CPCZ's stand on the PCI leadership's policy, and accuses the PCI of taking the road of "retreat from class positions and deviation from Marxism-Leninism, ignoring its glorious past."

On the same day, on page 7, RUDE PRAVO carries a 250-word CTK Rome dispatch entitled "Senator Nino Pasti: The PCI Leadership Is Deceiving Members." The dispatch reports on the Italian Senator Nino Pasti's press conference in Rome on 5 March, at which he criticized the PCI leadership and Enrico Berlinguer in particular for ignoring the threat posed by the United States' "bellicose plans" and for "deceiving its members and voters." According to Pasti, the PCI leadership's stands "may get it into a critical situation."

HUSAK ADDRESSES WOMEN'S UNION ON WOMEN'S DAY

LD081418 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, received in the Spanish hall in Prague Castle today, on the occasion of International Women's Day, a 250-strong delegation of Czechoslovak women headed by Marie Kabrhelova, member of the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Women's Union.

Comrade Gustav Husak voiced his profound gratitude and thanked sincerely the women of Czechoslovakia for their selfless and conscientious work in factories, fields, services, trade, education, the health service and culture, everywhere where they have been contributing their share to the fulfillment of the objectives set out by the 16th CPCZ Congress as well as for their care to ensure that their families live a happy and contented life.

This year's celebration of International Women's Day is taking place at a time when the struggle for the preservation of peace, freedom and independence is unfolding with great intensity, Gustav Husak stressed. We appreciate the fact that Czechoslovak women, too, have made a significant contribution to the achievement of the foreign-political objectives of our state and that they have shown by their everyday work that they are in the forefront of those who are striving to eliminate wars from the life of mankind. At the same time he recalled that the principal purpose of all our work, of all our endeavors has always been and will always be to create conditions for the peaceful, materially secured and spiritually rich life of our working people, for a creative application of their interests, knowledge and talents. These profoundly humane aims constitute a permanent basis of the general line of our party and the policy of our socialist state.

Comrade Marie Kabrhelova expressed gratitude for the heartfelt words by which Comrade Gustav Husak paid tribute to the work and social commitment of women as well as to their mission as mothers, and to their contribution to peace and the activity of the Czechoslovak Women's Union. She voiced her assurances that Czechoslovak women will persist in their endeavor to bring about further triumphs of socialism in our homeland and will continue to be a reliable and highly active part of our community.

Afterwards the meeting continued with cordial conversations between women and Comrade Gustav Husak and other representatives from political and public life. At the close of the reception those who took part viewed some of the rooms and historical parts of Prague Castle.

'BALLOON ACTION' OVER POLAND A 'PROVOCATION'

LD091050 Prague in Czech and Slovak to Europe 2230 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Esteemed listeners. The commentary which you are now to hear is devoted to the policy of the West toward Poland. It was written by Stefan Babiak, a commentator:

Last Saturday's so-called balloon action, undertaken by the French goup bearing the name free balloons for Poland, was a truly telling affair, for it showed about all that the enemies of socialism in the West have not shied away from employing such grossly provocative tactics like sending air balloons containing slanderous material to Poland. It is rather curious that the Danish authorities -- since the entire venture began on the Danish territory -- did not take appropriate steps against such dangerous provocation. They defended themselves by saying that they did not give their permission but, in reality, they did nothing to prevent it.

One cannot however give a free scope to such actions because they constitute a direct threat to air traffic, which, for instance, also involves Danish aircraft. One only needs to recall similar actions taken against Czechoslovakia in the fifties when balloon provocations caused three air disasters and claimed lives.

One should not be surprised, however, that the authorities of some West European countries are tolerating such actions which grossly violate the elementary norms of international relations. Under American influence, the Atlantic allies of Washington, already suspended principles embodied in international agreements as regards their policy toward Poland. The declaration of sanctions, which aims to make the Polish leadership yield to NATO diktat, has nothing in common with the serious conduct of affairs, neither toward Poland nor toward America's West European allies. This is so, on the one hand, because this damages the future outlook for mutually advantageous cooperation between these countries and the East, and on the other hand, because it pushes the entire European continent further toward the danger of a war.

The more the West European public has been pointing at these connections the greater the pressure exerted by Washington on the so-called Atlantic solidarity or, to be more precise, on Western Europe's unconditional subordination to American designs.

The way those who have used Poland as a pretext to destroy the fabric of relations between West and East are currently thinking was revealed the other day by the British newspaper, the TIMES. At first, it admitted that the sanctions against Poland are ineffective. Then it started to advocate more rapid and more effective sanctions against Poland on the basis of the recent NATO decision in Brussels.

Last week-end's balloon provocation against Poland and the article in the British newspaper, the TIMES, have one thing in common. Both are an expression of the reality that developments in Poland are going in a direction which demolishes the hopes of the imperialist forces to turn the country into a springboard against the socialist community and which is gradually depriving them of the opportunity of misusing Poland to aggravate international relations. This is why the TIMES called for a further expansion of anti-Polish sanctions by the West and this is why crude provocations, such as sending balloons filled with leaflets containing slanderous anti-Polish statements have been resorted to. In short, the elements of the stabilization in Poland are destabilizing the peace of its external enemies.

MORE ON 'ARAFAT'S ARRIVAL, ACTIVITIES 9 MAR

Arrival Ceremonies

LD091216 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1005 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Berlin, 9 Mar (ADN) -- The representative of the Palestinian people and of its legitimate representative body was accorded military honors on his arrival. Members of the party and state leadership of the GDR came to greet Yasir 'Arafat and his delegation.

The distinguished guest was greeted by Willi Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Joachim Herrmann, Heinz Hoffman, Erich Mielke and Guenter Mittag, members of the SED Central Committee Politburo; Ernst Goldenbaum and Heinrich Homann, deputy chairmen of the State Council; Dr Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the National Front of the GDR; Manfred Flegel, Wolfgang Rauchfuss, Dr Hans Reichelt, Rudolph Schulze and Dr Berhard Weiss, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs; members of the Presidium of the People's Chamber and of the State Council. Diplomats from the PLO mission in the GDR were also present.

Erich Honecker cordially welcomed his guest on the steps of the special airplane. Yasir 'Arafat conveyed his thanks for the invitation and the reception. He presented the members of his delegation, whom Erich Honecker also greeted. The gate was decorated with the flags of the GDR and the PLO. A guard of honor of the National People's Army presented arms during the playing of the anthems of the GDR and the PLO. A 21-gun salute was fired. The commander of the honor guard reported to the guest the order of the day; "For the strengthening of relations of anti-imperialist solidarity between the GDR and the PLO." Erich Honecker and Yasir 'Arafat then inspected the line of soldiers and officers of the three branches of the service and saluted the troops flag. A march-past marked the end of the military ceremonial.

Several thousand citizens lined the edges of the airport carrying flags and banners welcoming the PLO chairman. They cheered for Erich Honecker and Yasir 'Arafat. Amidst the workers the banners read: "Long Live the Militant Union Between the SED and the PLO" and "The Just Cause of the Palestinian People Will Be Victorious." Rows of young Palestinians who are studying and working in the GDR gave an enthusiastic welcome to the respected freedom fighter, who has been a guest in the GDR on several occasions. They warmly shouted in Arabic: We defend our revolution until victory is ours.

Afterwards Erich Honecker and Yasir 'Arafat got into the car, which was accompanied by a motorcycle escort, for the drive to the guest's residence. The streets and squares of the capital are decorated for the friendship visit of Yasir 'Arafat with flags and slogans, on which the people of the GDR proclaim their firm solidarity with the PLO.

Talks With Honecker

LD092016 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1730 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Berlin, 9 Mar (ADN) -- Official talks between the delegations of the GDR and the PLO, led by Erich Honecker and Yasir 'Arafat, began on Tuesday afternoon at the SED Central Committee. Central to the detailed exchange of ideas and views was the strengthening and deepening of bilateral relations. Basic issues concerning the international situation, especially the situation in Europe and the Middle East were discussed.

Erich Honecker and Yasir 'Arafat noted with satisfaction that the friendly relations of anti-imperialist solidarity existing between the GDR and the PLO have developed steadily. Their meeting in 1973 already provided impulses for further deepening relations.

Erich Honecker expressed great appreciation for the just struggle of the Palestinian people under its sole legitimate representative, the PLO. He underlined the GDR's support for this struggle to guarantee the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and an independent state.

The GDR accords special importance to the unified action of the Arab states, of all anti-imperialist and patriotic forces. Erich Honecker paid tribute to the services of Yasir 'Arafat as an outstanding leader of the Palestinian people and as its internationally recognized representative.

Yasir 'Arafat expressed his sincere appreciation to the party, government and people of the GDR for giving their disinterested solidarity and support to the struggle of the PLO and the Palestinian people. He paid tribute to the successes achieved by the GDR people in the formation of the developed socialist society and in implementing the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. He rated highly the GDR's active contribution in the struggle for peace and socialism, in supporting the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples.

Erich Honecker and Yasir 'Arafat expressed deep concern over the aggravation of the international situation as a result of the adventurist course of confrontation and arms escalation pursued by the most aggressive circles of imperialism. They condemned the policy of the most aggressive circles of NATO, in particular the United States, of misusing the events in the Polish People's Republic as justification for intensifying its policy of threats and boycotts, and its course, decided on long ago, of relentless arms escalation, behind a smokescreen of lies and slander. Both men expressed appreciation for the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states as a genuine and realistic alternative to the imperialist course of confrontation and arms drive. They expressed their conviction that further progress could be achieved in strengthening international security through the determined struggle of peoples, of all peace-loving and democratic forces.

In discussing the situation in the Near and Middle East, Erich Honecker and Yasir 'Arafat stressed that the cornerstone of a sound solution to the Middle Eastern conflict is and remains the Palestinian question. Erich Honecker attributed the international recognition of the PLO -- which has given concrete expression in that it is regarded as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people by the United Nations, numerous international organizations and over 100 states -- to its active political commitment and support of the socialist states for its struggle.

The talks, which took place in an atmosphere of warm friendship and mutual respect, were attended by the following:

Representing the GDR: Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Gerhard Weiss, member of the SED Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Oskar Fischer, member of the SED Central Committee and minister for foreign affairs; Friedel Trappen, deputy chief in the Department of International Relations of the SED Central Committee; Klaus Willerding, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Wolfgang Schuessler, head of the Middle East Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Representing the PLO: Faruq Qaddumi, member of the PLO Executive Committee and head of the Political Department; 'Abdal Muhsin Abu Mayzar, member of the PLO Executive Committee and PLO official spokesman; Yasir Abd Rabbuh, member of the PLO Executive Committee, head of the Department of Information and Culture, Ahmad Abd ar-Rahman, member of the Fatah Revolutionary Council and editor-in-chief of the newspaper F'LASTIN ATH-THAWRAH; and Dr Isam Kamil Salim, head of the PLO mission in the GDR.

Honecker Dinner Speech

LD092304 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1923 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Report on toast made by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State at a 9 March Berlin dinner given in honor of Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee]

[Text] Berlin, 9 Mar (ADN) -- During a dinner [given by Erich Honecker] in honor of Yasir 'Arafat, Erich Honecker said in a toast: Today we began our discussions on a broad spectrum of international issues in a spirit of friendship characteristic of our relations.

The problems of particular interest to the peoples naturally assumed a prominent place. I need not dwell on the fact that there was full agreement on the issues discussed, in particular regarding the safeguarding of peace and the national liberation struggle of the peoples. We will also make progress together in the future.

No one can disregard the fact that despite various ploys by imperialist circles, the PLO is internationally recognized as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Those who want to overlook or refuse to admit this for whatever reason are violating the interests of all states in this region. We can look back on many years of joint struggle, when our relations grew steadily deeper and more diverse. During the time the forces of socialism, national liberation and peace scored impressive successes. One only has to examine the present composition of the United Nations to know that the age of national repression, colonialism and neocolonialism is ended for all time. Erich Honecker continued: The remaining peoples fighting for their independence, including the Palestinian, Namibian and South African peoples, will also achieve victory.

Erich Honecker added: Of course, we do not overlook that the most aggressive circles of imperialism, primarily the United States, will not accept such a development and disturbingly aggravate the international situation through its course of confrontation and arms drive. Its arms escalation poses a serious danger to world peace. Every responsible statesman asks himself: Will it be possible to ban war from the lives of the peoples and safeguard peace for the present and future generations, or will we permit tensions to increase and finally push humanity into the charm of nuclear catastrophe. The only answer permissible is that everything must be done to safeguard peace and contain the warmongers. Of paramount importance are the persistent peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, the socialist community, the activities of the nonaligned states, of which the PLO is a respected member, and the work of all realistically-minded circles prepared for dialogue in capitalist states. Active commitment to peace by the peoples themselves is decisive.

As you know, the GDR faithfully follows the peace policy decided at the 10th SED Congress and seeks to ensure that despite all obstacles, peaceful coexistence will be achieved. We fully support the peace program for the 1980's presented at the 26th CPSU Congress. We believe it points the way to guaranteeing permanent peace and security in the world through cooperaton among all forces genuinely interested in this.

Erich Honecker continued: The situation in the Near and Middle East, in the Gulf region and the Indian Ocean was naturally a matter of particular interest in our discussions. It is a cause for deep concern for everyone committed to peace and peoples' independence. Using Israel as a spearhead, the most aggressive imperialist circles are seeking to increase their military presence in this region. In the most gross manner, they are violating the sovereignty and independence of the states in these regions, and are using the language of threats and enticement, pressure and boycott. The establishment of the so-called strategic alliance between the United States and Israel, as well as the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, which contravenes international law, have led to a considerable increase in tensions in the Middle East.

Casting the lessons of history to the wind, and backed by its imperialist benefactors, Israel is denying the Palestinian people their rights. But this leads to a dead end from which it is difficult to emerge. Israel's complete withdrawal from all occupied territory, the guarantee of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to return to their homeland, to self-determination and the formation of an independent Palestinian state are all essential for peace and security in the Middle East. These demands are backed by the socialist countries, the nonaligned states and many sober-minded politicians in imperialist countries.

We regard the convening of an international conference, with equal participation for all parties concerned, as a realistic and timely way of eliminating the hotbed of tension in the Middle East. Erich Honecker added: It would of course include the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The GDR will not waver in supporting the just cause of the Palestinian people. Particularly important, we believe, unified action on the Arab states and all anti-imperialist and patriotic forces. Our relations are characterized by the joint efforts to establish a new world which will put an end to the imperialist striving for supremacy and suppression of peoples and in which sovereignty, mutual respect, justice and solidarity will prevail.

In conclusion, Erich Honecker said: You are in the GDR at a time when our people are doing their utmost to implement the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. The working people of our country are working circumspectly and vigorously for a developed socialist society. This is an awesome task. In solving it, supported by the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and firmly rooted in the socialist community of states, we are making an active contribution to the struggle for peace and socialism, and are supporting the anti-imperialist fight of the peoples.

'Arafat Dinner Speech

LD092306 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1939 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Report on toast made by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, at a 9 March Berlin dinner given in his honor by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council]

[Text] Berlin, 9 Mar (ADN) -- At tonight's dinner Yasir 'Arafat proposed a toast. He said: I am delighted to thank you on behalf of the Palestinian people, the PLO and on my own behalf for the extremely warm reception you have given us. It reflects the continuity of our long-standing close relations and shows the principles and unqualified solidarity of your people, party and country with the struggle of our Palestinian people and of the other Arab peoples against Zionist aggression, American imperialist machinations and with all peoples fighting for their freedom, independence and economic and social progress. The cordial reception we received today is a token of world wide solidarity with our people and gives it great political and moral support and assistance at this momentous and difficult time.

The world today is marked by growing tensions and the destiny of mankind is threatened in the extreme. The responsibility lies primarily with the aggressive policy of the United States, which extends to all parts of the world and specifically to the Middle East. American imperialism, dear friends, is trying, by fire and sword, by the means of aggression, military expansion and hegemonism, as well as by flagrant interference in the internal affairs of other states and peoples, to implement its strategy in international relations and to wreck the aspirations of the peoples for freedom, progress and peace. Every day produces fresh evidence of U.S. aggressiveness. In Latin American and specifically in El Salvador the United States is flagrantly threatening the aspirations of the peoples for emancipation from exploitation, dependence and backwardness.

U.S. support for the racist regime in Pretoria is the most conspicuous instance of the aggressive imperialist nature of American policy toward the peoples of the black continent, specifically toward the struggling people of Namibia. The United States is still seeking to inflame tensions in Southeast Asia.

Yasir 'Arafat went on: Today we are linked in firm solidarity and concord with you, with the community of socialist states and particularly with our great friend, the Soviet Union, as well as with the other democratic and peaceloving forces in the world, in order to rebuff this policy of tensions and aggression, to safeguard the fate of mankind and, by our common struggle, to make the just cause of peace triumph. In this connection we are bearing a great burden and responsibility in our struggle in the Middle East, where American imperialism and its main support, Israel -- particularly since the proclomation of their 'strategic alliance' -- are trying, with their navies and military bases to subject our peoples, to deny them the right to self-determination and a future and to crush the Palestinian revolution as well as all forces of the Arab liberation movement.

Yasir 'Arafat said: The Israeli military concentration and barbaric attacks on Lebanese and Palestinian civilians in southern Lebanon are part and parcel of this American-Israeli plan, so are the terrorist acts of the Israeli occupiers against our people in the occupied territories, the seizure of land, the establishment of defense settlements, the imprisonment of thousands of the best sons of our people and the destruction of the base of an independent national economy and our national culture. All this is happening before the eyes and within earshot of the United States, with its encouragement and support, while American leaders talk boastfully of human rights.

Recently, Israel announced its decision to annex the Syrian Golan Heights, as it previously annexed Jerusalem, and thus opposed the will of world opinion and United Nations resolutions, with the full support of the United States. Day in, day out, the Zionist leaders proclaim their intention to instigate another war against our Palestinian revolution and against the fraternal Lebanese people.

We are certain that the impending aggression will not achieve its object, thanks to the firm and active cooperation between our revolution and the Lebanese national forces, fraternal Syria and all forces of Arab steadfastness, and also thanks to your solidarity and that of all forces of progress and freedom in the world with the just cause of our people.

Our revolution has borne out time and again that it is possible to resist the Zionist-imperialist aggression whenever the will of all militant forces in our region is united on the basis of opposition to imperialism and worldwide Zionism. We continue to work to this end and we seek to set aside all minor and secondary considerations, disputes and quarrels by which imperialism intends to deflect the Arabs from their chief battle to liberate their territory.

Our Palestinian people, who have made tens of thousands of sacrifices for their sacred right to return to their homeland, for their self-determination and to found an independent state on national territory, feel a deep debt to, and trust in, the cordial relations which link them with the GDR people and leaders. We are striving to strengthen and consolidate these relations in all fields. In this connection we point with pride to the manifold support which the GDR and the other states of the socialist community are giving to our Arab people of Palestine, now fighting in the forefront in the Middle East and sure of victory in resisting imperialist and Zionist attacks.

Yasir 'Arafat concluded his toast: our age is the age of peoples. The victory of our common cause is inevitable in spite of all difficulties confronting it. We feel impelled to praise the role of the GDR and its leaders in the constant and consistent endeavor for the freedom of the peoples, the strengthening of international detente and the safeguarding of world peace.

UNPUBLISHED PORTIONS OF HONECKER SPEECH CITED

DW091103 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 9 Mar 82 p 5

[Helmut Loelhoeffel article: "Honecker Admonishes SED Functionaries"]

[Text] Berlin/GDR, 8 Mar -- SED General Secretary Erich Honecker has urged the functionaries of his party to make decisions faster and more flexibly. In a 12 February speech, which so far has been published only in excerpts, Honecker in addition criticized some state institutions whose public relations activities "here and there still leave much to be desired." The number of party members has risen to 2.2 million, the SED boss announced.

He said that since April 1981, 13,023 production workers joined the SED. Honecker advised the party functionaries to watch "the quality of social composition" in new admissions to the party. This means that at least one third of the new members must be workers. Honecker said that an essential increase in the SED membership figure is not necessarily desirable. A year ago the SED membership had been reported to be 2.15 million. At present about every sixth GDR citizen above age 18 is affiliated with the SED.

In no uncertain terms Honecker criticized weaknesses of the lower level party executive boards in this part of the speech text which so far has not been published. He said: "A great bustle does not testify to effective managerial work." If the high level of economic performance ordered by the party leadership is to be attained, the functionaries will have to develop "new activities daily," react to new situations with flexibility and "often make operational decisions without somewhere covering for themselves." What is also important is "prompt reaction to proposals and criticism." Problems must be recognized in good time "to react more quickly to problems that have developed and prevent many an unpleasant surprise."

What Honecker criticized in state public relations activities was that officials fail to pay "constant attention" to many developments. Granted, it is possible to "speak of informed citizens in the GDR who know what is going on in the world," yet decisions by the state apparatus likewise need to be published and elucidated. "Anyone disregarding public relations work, the impartment of detailed information to the citizens," Honecker declared to party functionaries, "only makes life difficult for himself."

MORE FRG REPORTAGE ON NEW DEFENSE BILL

DW091007 Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 9 Mar 82 p 2

[Article signed W.S.: "Indications of Extended Conscription in the GDR"]

[Excerpts] Berlin, 8 March -- Indications are thickening in East Berlin that conscription in the GDR will be prolonged. The official news agency ADN reported Wednesday that the People's Chamber Presidium had convened and convoked the next meeting of the GDR parliament for 25 March. Contrary to common practice, the agenda for this People's Chamber elections has not been published. Instead, ADN merely said that with People's Chamber President Sindermann in the chair, the Presidium discussed preparations for the meeting and relegated "bills to be handled by the People's Chamber committees." What these "bills" relegated to the People's Chamber "committees" involve includes a new version of the "Law on General Conscription" dated 24 January 1962, by which the basic military service in the GDR will be altered and prolonged to at least 2 years, East Berlin quarters say. In the Soviet Union the basic military service period is 2 years, in the navy even 3 years.

A substitute service without arms has been possible since 1964 in the so-called "construction units." The "Ordinance of the GDR National Defense Council on the Establishment of Construction Units Within the Jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Defense," dated 7 September 1964, states in part that "such conscripts shall be inducted to service in the construction units who, for religious or similar reasons reject military service under arms." The legal and military regulations governing military service in the GDR Army also apply to the "construction soldiers," who wear the uniform of the National People's Army. Their superiors (the instructors) are "tested soldiers, NCO's and officers of the National People's Army." So far -- it was heard especially in ecclesiastical circles -- there have always been about 500 construction soldiers in the GDR. But ever since a "peace movement" has become widespread in the GDR and several thousand young people have been demanding the introduction of a "social peace service" as a substitute for military service, the number of construction soldiers reportedly has sharply increased. Some say that the original number has tripled. While the construction soldiers so far worked in the construction of military installations, in the repair of damage from maneuvers, in cases of disaster, in road and transport-facility construction, but also in supply units and horticultural facilities, some of them lately have also been assigned "to the social sphere, for example, to hospitals," as reported last December by the MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG. This practice obviously is intended to cut the ground from under the demand for a "special service" which the state categorically rejects.

DIFFICULTIES IN OBTAINING EUROCREDITS REPORTED

DW091037 Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 9 Mar 82 p 11

[Article signed M.H.: "Credit Contracting on the Euromarket Grows More Difficult for the GDR"]

[Text] Frankfurt, 8 March -- According to reports by banking circles, the GDR is facing increasing difficulties in obtaining new credits on the Euromarket without, however, necessarily becoming the third basket case of the East bloc next to Poland and Romania. It was learned that so far the GDR has met its payment obligations more or less on time. Nevertheless, negotiations in London on a $300 million credit are dragging on. On the one hand, no consortium can be found which is willing to make this sum available on a medium or long-term basis while, on the other, the GDR is not prepared to go beyond the interest rate hitherto granted -- five-eights of a percent above the London basic rate on the Euromarket.

The difficulties of the GDR, which so far has been considered a first-rate debtor and which, the banks believe, would be the last East bloc country to be dropped by big brother Moscow, are attributed to several reasons: first, the general worsening of the political and economic climate between East and West; second, the financial difficulties in Poland and Romania as well as the increased foreign-exchange requirements of the GDR as a result of the higher import prices for energy; and finally the constantly recurring, albeit not yet verified, rumors that the GDR must contract credits in the West for Poland -- there is talk of sums between $250 million and $1 billion. Reportedly Arab banks, too, have also become hesitant in granting credits to the GDR. These Arab banks so far had been relatively generous in the corresponding consortiums.

The GDR's credits on the Eurobank market currently are estimated to amount to about $11 billion, the Bank for International Clearing having reported for the GDR last September a status of $9.63 billion in credits and $1.82 billion in assets in Western banks. In the meantime the credit amount reportedly has risen as a result of interest rates and a credit increase, whereas the assets reportedly decreased by about DM600 million. This debt account comprises only the bank credits in the West but not any government credits, so that the GDR's actual indebtedness probably is somewhat greater. So far the GDR has held third place on the list of debtors of all East bloc countries, after the Soviet Union and Poland.

The GDR's difficulty in obtaining further credits is probably also connected with the uncertain future of the interest-free swing credit in inter-German trade. The current arrangement expires by the middle of the year. Of the former DM820 million which the GDR had utilized, DM370 million has so far been repaid. It seems to be doubtful whether this amount can be completely repaid in the next 4 months, unless Federal Economics Minister Graf Lambsdorff and Guenter Mittag, the SED Central Committee member responsible for economic affairs, come to terms on a new arrangement at the Leipzig Spring Fair which is scheduled to open next Sunday.

WEST BERLINER CONVICTED FOR TRANSIT ABUSE

AU082012 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6-7 Mar 82 p 2

[ADN report: "Sentenced for Transit Abuse"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On 5 March 1982 the Gera Bezirk Court sentenced (West) Berlin resident Sigrid Gruenwald to 5 years and 6 months imprisonment for crimes under Section 105 of the Penal Code in abuse of the Transit Agreement. As an agent of the criminal Fuerch gang which is operating from West Berlin, she actively participated in subversive actions against the GDR. In doing so she repeatedly abused the transit routes and the generous regulations for entering the GDR, in keeping with her instructions. The Opel Kadett automobile with license plate No B-XJ 618 used for the crime was impounded.

NEW COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY PRODUCTS DEVELOPED

WA100900 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Feb 82 p 9

[Text] The Orion Radio Engineering Factory in collaboration with KFKI [Central Physics Research Institute] has developed some new computer technology products. Although the factory has been making a variety of computer peripherals for some time, demand for them has fallen since many of them have become technically obsolete. Furthermore, up to now the factory has produced devices without accompanying programs which has reduced their marketability further still. To remedy this, Orion recently concluded a skeleton contract with KFKI for coordinated development of equipment and programs. There is great demand for such devices both at home and abroad.

Currently, efforts are being concentrated in three areas: a System-data preparing system, a display which operates with microprocessors and development and serial production of MSX magnetic tape units.

The prototype of the data preparing system has already been set up at Orion and is being used successfully in business management. The automatic system is built up entirely of electronic units and therefore greatly exceeds punch cards and tapes in reliability. The tapes tended to tear and cards got scrambled. The new system memorizes and stores data. Orion has already built three additional preparers and plans five more such systems by the end of the year. The factory estimates that there will be great demand for the new equipment in the socialist countries.

The universal display units of which 10 have been assembled to date is another new product. The first ones were purchased by KFKI which is now testing them. Since this display was designed with an exchangeable program container, it can be used in place of less versatile displays which can operate with only one kind of program. This year 100-150 such displays will be made, many of them for export.

KFKI gave Orion the documentation for the MSX magnetic tape units and ordered 50 for itself. Other enterprises are also greatly interested in the tape units and hope to buy them in volume.

MSZMP OFFICIALS PRESENT AWARDS TO PARTY VETERANS

LD092306 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Oszkar Barinkai, member of the MSZMP Central Control Committee and retired secretary of the body, has been congratulated on his 50 years' membership in the party. Mihaly Korom, Politburo member and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, presented a commemorative plaque of the Central Committee to the veteran fighter of the workers' movement.

Imre Gyori was similarly congratulated in the Central Committee headquarters on his 40 years' party membership. The Central Committee department head received the commemorative plaque from Miklos Ovari, Politburo member and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee.

INDUSTRY MINISTER ADDRESSES INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE

LD091400 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] The third industrial economics conference, which began its work at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest today, will deal with the current development of industry, the results of the restructuring of production, price and wage regulation and energy utilization.

Over 400 theoretical and practical experts of Hungarian industry are discussing the experiences of planning industrial development and the problems connected with innovations. Following the opening of the conference, a lecture was given by Lajos Mehes, minister of industry and MSZMP Politburo member.

LAZAR, OTHERS ATTEND WOMEN'S DAY MEETING

LD081914 Budapest MTI in English 1704 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Excerpts] Budapest, 8 Mar (MTI) -- On occasion of International Women's Day, an award ceremony was held on Monday in Parliament. The ceremony was attended by Gyorgy Lazar, member of the HSWP Political Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Karoly Nemeth, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council, Mrs Lajos Duschek, president of the National Council of Hungarian (?Women).

Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council and member of the HSWP Political Committee, greeted the participants on behalf of the HSWP, the government, the Presidential Council.

On the occasion of International Women's Day, the Presidential Council of the Hungarian Republic awarded high decorations to those who exert outstanding work in the construction of Hungary's socialist social order, improving the working and living conditions of working women. The Order of Labor, Golden Category was awarded to six, the Silver to 49, the Bronze to 53 persons.

Losonczi Greets Women

LD081422 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Excerpt] We now go over to the Cupola Hall of the Parliament Building, where the festive ceremony in honor of women began a few minutes ago.

Those invited to the festive ceremony held on the occasion of International Women's Day are being greeted by Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council.

[Begin Losonczi recording] The lasting foundations of and conditions for the equality of women have been brought about by the radical economic and social transformation, by socialism. We can state that now women are participating in our achievements in almost every sphere of life.

Reviewing the struggles and achievements of the last 25 years, and particularly of the more recent years, we find the beneficial signs of their spirit and hands everywhere. Our women and girls can indeed exercise their rights in accordance with the role they play in society, in the spirit of the Constitution and in harmony with the universal goals of socialism.

Perhaps there has never been such a great need for women and girls to fulfill their tasks responsibly as at present. The struggle for peace and detente is inconceivable without the participation and support of women.

Their role inside the family is also greater than hitherto. The creation and care of the family dwelling imbued with a new spirit, motivated toward service of the homeland and the community providing the conditions for renewal and rest, are primarily their task. [end recording]

MINISTER VERESS VIEWS FOREIGN TRADE BALANCE

LD022210 Budapest MTI in English 1717 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Budapest, 2 Mar (MTI) -- Peter Veress, Hungarian Foreign Trade Minister, spoke about the last year's developments and this year's tasks of Hungarian foreign trade at a press conference held here on Tuesday.

As he said, despite the more difficult external circumstances than expected, Hungarian foreign trade developed satisfactorily in 1981. Total exports, accounted at current prices, increased by 6.8 percent, imports by 4.8 percent. Counted at unchanged prices, exports grew by three percent, imports by 0.3 percent.

Ruble accounting trade developed in harmony with inter-states agreements: exports increased by 8.9 percent, while imports by 5.3. Almost one-third of Hungary's total turnover was transacted with the Soviet Union, her most important partner. "It means that Hungarian-Soviet Union economic relations play a particularly important role nowadays. The socialist countries share 55 percent of our total external trade," said the minister.

Hungary's non-ruble accounting trade is virtually balanced. As for the balance, 1981 has been the best year since 1970. It was due to the fact that the terms of exchange of Hungarian foreign trade has improved by two percent. Hungary's exports to developing countries considerably grew in 1981.

The minister pointed out that the socialist countries' integration and cooperation had passed the test of difficult circumstances. "It played an important role in that the Hungarian economy, despite our increasing troubles, weathered the unfavorable developments of the world economy and international political life with only a measure of difficulties", said the minister.

The minister stressed that as a result of the economic slump in the West, the interest of certain capitalist business and financial circles in the socialist countries, including Hungary, decreased, and this tendency was strengthened by cold war propaganda.

Protocols on trade with the socialist countries in 1982 have been signed at an earlier date than a year ago.

Speaking about this year's tasks, the minister emphasized that opportunitites offered in the processing industry should be exploited to a greater extent. It is promising that, for example, the machine industry has received more orders than a year ago, and it offers an opportunity for improving external balance.

"Several signs indicate that most of the Western countries do not intend to restrict their economic relations with the socialist countries, thus we expect a normal development of our relations", said Foreign Trade Minister Peter Veress.

PZPR INSTITUTE DELEGATION ENDS VISIT 6 MAR

LD081914 Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Budapest, 8 Mar (MTI) -- A delegation of the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee headed by institute director Professor Jerzy Wiatr, visited Budapest on March 2-6 at the invitation of the Social Science Institute of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee.

During its stay here, the Polish delegation conducted talks with Istvan Huszar, general director of the HSWP CC Institute, and Dezso Nemes, director of the HSWP CC's Party History Institute, about cooperation between the HSWP and PUWP institutions. The visitors were received by Mihaly Kornidesz, head of the HSWP CC's Science, Public Education and Cultural Department.

GYENES LEADS MSZMP DELEGATION TO PORTUGAL

LD091358 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] A Hungarian party delegation headed by Andras Gyenes, Central Committee secretary, has left for Lisbon. The delegation has been invited by the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party.

DPRK FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES, MEETS PUJA

LD082156 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] DPRK Foreign Minister Ho Tam has arrived in Budapest. The politician, who arrived for an official, friendly visit, was welcomed at Ferihegy Airport by Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja. Ho Tam has been head of the DPRK diplomatic service since 1970 and is a candidate member of the Korean Labor Party Politburo.

LAO DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR ECONOMIC TALKS

LD071800 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 7 Mar 82

[Text] Budapest, 7 Mar (MTI) -- Led by Sali Vongkhamsao, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, president of the National Planning Office and co-chairman of the Hungarian-Laotian Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Committee, a [Lao] delegation arrived in Budapest on Sunday. It will attend the 5th session of the cooperation committee. The subjects of discussion include results of the two countries' economic cooperation and timely development tasks. The Hungarian delegation to the talks will be led by Deputy Premier Janos Borbandi, Hungarian co-chairman of the committee.

DEPUTY PREMIER MARJAI PAYS VISIT TO MEXICO

For NOTIMEX and AFP coverage of the visit to Mexico City of Deputy Premier of the Council of Ministers Jozsef Marjai, including his statement criticizing U.S. policies in Latin and Central America, see the Mexico section of the Latin America DAILY REPORT for 9 March and subsequent issues.

RELEASE OF 110 INTERNEES REPORTED IN SILESIA

LD092210 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Today 110 people were released from an internment center located at the vacation premises of the (Opole) mineshaft construction enterprise. They are mostly employees of Silesian collieries, metallurgical plants and other work enterprises.

Col Edward Jerzy (Kruta), voivodship commandant of the Katowice Citizens Militia, met with the released men today.

OFFICIAL DEPLORES U.S. DENIAL OF FISHING ZONES

LD091448 Warsaw PAP in English 1416 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Mar (PAP) — In connection with the inauguration of the 11th session of the third conference on the Law of the Sea in New York, TRYBUNA LUDU carried today an interview with Prof. Janusz Symondies, head of the Polish Institute of International Affairs who participated as Poland's representative in the work of the conference.

Appraising American administration's decision to cancel the licence allowing Polish vessels to fish in the U.S. economic zone Prof. Symonides said that Poland's situation fully met the requirements of both Article 62 of the draft convention on the Law of the Sea, which speaks of the necessity to reduce the negative economic effects suffered by countries which traditionally fished in the given zones, and Article 70 concerning unfavourable geographical location of a country wishing to fish in another country's zone.

"Thus in the light of provisions of the draft convention Washington's latest decision withdrawing the consent for Polish fisheries is an infringement on our rights. It amounts, therefore, to a unilateral breaking of the agreement on allowing access to the surplus supplies of fish, without any essential change of circumstances from the point of view international law," Prof. Symonides pointed out.

RADIO DENOUNCES LAUNCH OF BALLOONS FROM DENMARK

LD092042 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Commentary by Editor (Zoltak)]

[Excerpt] Despite international conventions and despite agreements on the air defense of the territory of Poland, the airspace over Poland has been poisoned in the past few days. Balloons filled with more than helium have sailed over our Baltic beaches. The wind blowing in the direction of Poland from Bornhold, which is a short way away, brought containers filled with aggression. The Danish authorities did not give formal agreement for the departure of the balloons in the direction of our country. Such a mass overflight, is not only a violation of the sovereignty of Poland but is also a threat to air traffic.

But, unfortunately, it seems one can avoid international laws. The balloons found themselves over the Baltic beaches.

Let us take a look at their contents. Printed on thin tracing paper are instructions, appeals and principles of the resistance movement. The paper is signed by the Solidarity resistance union [zwiazek oporu Solidarnosc]. There are also instructions on how to make a pamphlet printing machine at home, how lists of those who are working well are to be drawn up and how these lists are to be conveyed to those who know better how to deal with those zealots who are working well for Poland. And at the end there is a postscript. It says the technical preparation of the action was carried out by people fighting for the free flow of information. Information? Or maybe instructions for sabotage, instructions as to how one can become an enemy of one's own country.

Everyone who listens to or becomes acquainted with the contents of this exceptionally cunning pamphlet can answer this question.

The aggressive plan of hostile subversive propaganda toward Poland did not succeed. Coastal defense radar reported the flight of thousands of balloons in advance. Inhabitants of localities on the Baltic handed over many balloons to units of the Border Defense Troops and of the Citizens' Militia.

We shall defend the purity of the sky when hostile rumors, slanders and the will to set Poles against one another drop from it.

PZPR YOUTH COMMISSION CHAIRMAN CZECHOWICZ INTERVIEW

AU091900 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 5-7 Mar 82 pp 1, 3

[Wojciech Koczanowicz and Marek Truszkowski interview with Tadeusz Czechowicz, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, chairman of the Youth Commission in the PZPR Central Committee, and Lodz City PZPR Committee first secretary: "The Party Cannot Tell Another Truth..." -- date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Do you know what young people think about martial law?

[Answer] Our arguments have not been accepted by everybody. There are some who understand the premises for imposing martial law, others consider that it was still too radical a move, but there are still others — particularly among the young intelligentsia and students — who do not accept our reasoning at all. At an early stage of the changes taking place in our country, millions of Poles believed in Solidarity, and now they find it hard, even to themselves, to admit that they offered their hearts to an idea which failed to settle conflicts or bring about national accord. A young worker finds it hard to admit that the leaders of that cherished Solidarity endeavored to undermine the foundations of socialism in Poland. Also, a young engineer finds it hard to admit that the bellicose Solidarity weakened the country and was used by some people as a tool in the struggle for power.

[Question] Thus we have a frustrated generation of people in their twenties and thirties. I have been told -- and in party circles at that — that, from the point of view of socialist ideals, that generation is a loss. How can one allow even a thought of the loss of half a nation?

[Answer] In joining Solidarity, the workers did not intend to abolish socialism. They were joining the new trade union with the idea of restoring conformity between lofty slogans and the practice of daily lives. In an overwhelming majority, they actually wanted to fight for socialism. How can one then regard youths as a lost generation?

The crux lies somewhere else. Unfortunately, young workers and engineers, pupils and students sought to implement the ideals of socialism outside the party. This is deplorable to us, the errors of the last decade took their revenge. Our leaders, we the party and we communists frequently used to say that prosperity was within hand's reach, that society was unanimous and the state was just. In the seventies, at least until 1975, people trusted the party, had confidence. The more tragic was the awakening in the summer of 1980 when all the curtains were brutally pulled down. The most important thing today is to recover confidence in the party as a political force capable, along with the nation's progressive forces, of controlling the process of building socialism.

[Question] To what extent is the awareness of that need current in the party?

[Answer] As chairman of the Central Committee's commission in charge of youth problems, I have, in my opinion, a good insight into the situation. All of us are well aware of the importance of the problem. We are aware that the future of the nation and the state depends on its settlement. The only question still disputable is how to settle that problem. The results of this discussion will be summed up -- by all means, tentatively, because what counts are not words, but the facts -- at a Central Committee plenum which will try to outline the party's idea about the young generation's part in molding Poland's future. The PZPR Central Committee Youth Commission is preparing materials for the plenum. Representatives of youth organizations are participating in the work. Before the plenum, we intend to additionally discuss some theses with the collectives of large enterprises, with young farmers and students.

[Question] That will not be the first plenum to discuss youth problems. In 1973, the Central Committee outlined beautiful prospects. What can be added today to what was said then?

[Answer] Nothing else can be added. We cannot afford that for both economic and political reasons. In my opinion, one of the fundamental conclusions which we, as a party, must draw from the developments of recent years is that no empty promises must be made. We must tell young people quite clearly: There will be no miracles; what the Poles build today is tomorrow's Poland.

[Question] After deducting foreign debts which must be earned and paid back.

[Answer] Notwithstanding carelessness, extravagance and private interests, which upset the public and deserve to be commemorated in monuments, those debts were used to build many enterprises that have employed hundreds of thousands of young people, the very same young people who, in the ardor of justified indignation, joined Solidarity and who -- if in the seventies there had been no accelerated and much criticized industrialization -- would have learned and trained in significantly more difficult conditions; would have found no jobs and would have vegetated in the countryside.

[Question] The countryside is now short of manpower.

[Answer] Let us not argue about the errors committed in the past. The party exerted self-criticism and must draw conclusions from that. However, let us bear in mind where we started in 1970. The present public atmosphere is not favorable for honest assessments, only history will pay its due to everything accomplished in the last decade. I repeat: "Everything accomplished," although I am aware that this phrase is unpopular and that for the money borrowed the structure of our economy could have been arranged more favorably, could have been better adapted to the needs of the market, both at home and abroad.

[Question] Let us go to the present day. While inducing to work, the party seems to be keen to win back credibility. In the fifties, young people rushed to great construction sites with an eye on the great social advancements expected. In the seventies, young people manned modern machines, because they saw a chance to be better off. What can one offer young workers, peasants and engineers in the eighties, in addition to their sweat and to the possible glass houses in the 21st century?

[Answer] Those glass houses are not irrelevant. Well, there must be someone to build them. It is up to young people to make use of the wealth possessed, through our own scientific research and constructive solutions, to bring down import consumption in our economy, to raise the quality of goods and to improve the effectiveness of exports. The banal truth is that without work we cannot accomplish anything. The party cannot tell young people any other truth. Window dressing has proved to be too expensive. Our party -- nay, our people -- cannot afford another disappointment.

[Question] Talk about another disappointment is optimistic inasmuch as there is no certainty of where the end will be of the disappointment experienced today by young people.

[Answer] I agree that there is no certainty. However, there are very reliable premises on which I pin my hope for the future. The young Polish generation is undoubtedly ambitious, courageous, brave and educated. Our country is undoubtedly rich in raw materials, the soil and factories. What unites our people, and not divides, are the ideals of justice, democracy and patriotism. After August 1980, we rolled down toward the abyss of anarchy, people opposing socialism dominated Solidarity, yet most Solidarity slogans, which attracted the workers, did not contradict socialism. Those were the slogans raised by our party in the forties. We must go back to those slogans. Martial law has checked the demolition of socialism. We have again set about materializing the just slogans of equality, including those advocated by the Solidarity workers' stream. I do not believe that a program for the country's development would find, in the long run, no support among young people. After all, thinking about the future is natural for them. Whether it suits anybody or not, those young people, frequently rebels, will take control over our country.

[Question] And what if those young people consider that they should take control over the country right now, because they have know how and qualifications, while the older generation is incompetent....

[Answer] Political qualifications among young people turned out to vary. Moreover, the theory and practice of control are two different things. It is easy to remove the older generation.

[Question] Is it?

[Answer] Because despite their defects, real or alleged, despite their true or alleged incompetence, those older people, people so lightheartedly accused of conservatism, still possess an activity program which is more mature and which takes into account all aspects of the matter. The young Solidarity had a program for demotion and negation, and this is why it had to lose. You say "young people" and seem to be willing to give them power, we say "older people," and want them to keep power. But, in my opinion, the crux of the problem lies somewhere else. The point is that power be exerted by people who are the best predisposed for it. What should be decisive is not the birth certificate, but education, talents, prestige in the community and political skills. In my opinion, experience also counts, and it is acquired -- you will admit -- with the passage of time.

[Question] There must then be someone to come and say: Now you are mature and apt to rule. Who is supposed to do that?

[Answer] We must work out objective criteria for evaluating people, we must provide conditions not only for vertical advancement. Not everyone can become a director or a minister, but everyone can be a master in his trade. Such mastery should be accorded public prestige and corresponding wages. We must not divide the Poles into generations. If there must be a division, then into those working well and badly.

[Question] Objective criteria for evaluation have been spoken about for a long time. However, in practice an older comrade, who proved himself in the past but is not fit any longer, moves from an easy chair to another easy chair, while the younger comrade tightens nuts to acquire mastery in the trade. All right, let us not divide the nation into generations, but let us provide, instead of the "objective criteria," an authentic mechanism for promotion, a mechanism operating for everyone and without any exceptions for age or old services in another field.

[Answer] We intend to provide such a mechanism. It is indispensable. The rotation of cadres must be inevitable. Young experts, well trained and full of ardor, must replace the older ones. And that process must be natural, must be guaranteed under a system set for evaluation, and must be accepted by our public as something quite natural, and a person taking the job at a lower level -- except disciplinary cases -- should not be socially downgraded in the community. But we still have not learned that, we do that in a clumsy way, frequently hurting both people and matters.

[Question] Is that mechanism which we are looking for by chance not ready? What I have in mind is the self-governing system.

[Answer] Self-government will be allotted an important role in shaping cadre policy. However, self-government and democracy are a medicine that can easily be overdosed. We have seen that after August. It is obvious that, in the long run, Poland must not be ruled autocratically; but without the stabilization of economic and political life, democracy leads toward chaos and anarchy. In my opinion, we must start with restoring the authority and prestige of the state. Democracy must not be an end in itself; it must be a form of exerting power in the state, and not a way to eliminating the system of power and thus the state. We live in extremely important times. Poland's future for decades depends on the next few months. We must make decisions rapidly and must act resolutely, but on the other hand we must avoid errors. I am aware of the difficult material, psychological and political situation of young people. I am aware how little young people can now be offered. This is why it is so important for our party to become a party of young people, a party creating the vision of a just society and materialising that vision, a party as courageous and as uncompromising as youth, as courageous and uncompromising as the communists who fought for the triumph of the revolution. We must and will find those qualities in ourselves -- also owing to our young comrades, younger party members.

PZPR AGRICULTURE HEADS DISCUSS ECONOMIC REFORM

AU091544 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6-7 Mar 82 p 2

[PAP report: "Rural Areas and Economic Reform -- Session of Heads of Agricultural Departments in PZPR Voivodship Committees"]

[Text] Heads of the PZPR voivodship committee agricultural departments met in conference at Central Committee headquarters on 5 March to discuss the most important tasks of party work in rural areas. The session, which was attended by Central Committee secretary Zbigniew Michalek, was chaired by Stanislaw Zieba, head of the Central Committee Agricultural Department. Representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy and of the rural production and service organizations were present.

Z. Michalek discussed the current sociopolitical and economic problems of agriculture. By implementing the economic reform, he said, we switch over to the economic instruments of management and thus replace the command and assignment system, which has failed for years. We must consistently implement the principles of the reform, which should speed up the overcoming of the crisis. The reform has changed prices, an operation enabling agriculture and nonagricultural sectors to base production decisions on cost effectiveness analysis. Many misunderstandings have arisen in connection with the profitability of farm production based on new procurement prices for farm produce and on new prices for means of production and services. Profitability decisions must be based on sound calculations. Everyone should also comprehend that the new prices for farm produce have been introduced to ensure that the effective farms incur no losses because of the higher prices for industrial goods. The purpose of the latter prices is to encourage factories to increase supplies for farming. Above all, however, increased marketable production must ensure higher incomes for farms. The farmers farming smaller farms can increase their incomes by cultivating labor-consuming farm produce that is more profitable. Z. Michalek stressed the very crucial role of the party aktivs in implementing the economic reform at socialized farms and the agricultural circles' cooperatives and in eliminating irregularities in the distribution of industrial resources.

The discussion on new principles of contracted cultivation is continuing. The results and conclusions of this discussion should be used in working out an efficient and clear system by which the production of peasant farms can be geared to the country's planned economy.

The crucial issue now is to ensure availability of grains of consumption. There is still much to be done to spread the useful measures -- like those in Gorzow Voivodship, for example -- aimed at stimulating the purchases of grains harvested last year.

Discussing party work in rural areas, Z. Michalek said that the seventh party plenum resolutions are the basis of such work. In some voivodships there is good cooperation between the party organizations and the ZSL in coordinating political activities. Party bodies should reach all their members. The burgeoning regions of party work are the force to stimulate sociopolitical activities in rural areas.

Representatives of the service and production organizations in rural areas explained the problems of the functioning of these organizations and answered questions submitted by heads of PZPR voivodship committee agricultural departments. Andrzej Kacala, vice minister of agriculture and food economy, discussed the main principles and aims of the new system of contracted cultivation, which combined procurement with the supply of industrial goods.

Summing up the conference, S. Zieba said that the most important task now is to make decisions to eliminate obstacles to implementing the economic reform and to apply the solutions that will make it possible to exploit for production purposes the potential of the facilities that had been built for livestockbreeding on the basis of imported fodder. We must also see that farmers are ready for spring work and for complete cultivation of every plot of arable land.

GENERAL MILCZAREK PZPR PLENUM ADDRESS

AU091648 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 5 Mar 82 p 5

[Speech by Brig Gen Ryszard Milczarek, member of the Presidium of the Central Party Control Commission and deputy commander of the Silesian Military District, included in the minutes of the Seventh PZPR Control Committee Plenum held in Warsaw on 24-25 February]

[Excerpts] Esteemed comrades, I wish to dedicate my speech here to only one issue: The consolidation, unity and ideological cohesion of the party.

I think -- this is the view of the party members in the Silesian Military District and, I assume, in the Polish Armed Forces -- that party unity is the basic prerequisite for restoring the party to its position and to its fundamental function of the leading force of society.

I am convinced that this is also an important argument in the political struggle against the domestic adversary, whose activities, as you know, have increased in intensity in the past few weeks.

In the Silesian Military District we are observing an escalation of antistate and antiparty -- that is, anti-Polish -- actions by extreme forces seeking one goal: To stimulate social unrest in our country.

The handouts, bulletins and slogans issued by the adversary appeal for passive resistance, for disregarding the rules of martial law, for organizing silent demonstrations, for setting up underground structures of Solidarity and so on.

Perfidious psychological terror against party members and their dependants, including the pronouncements of so-called death sentences, is continuing on an increasingly greater scale.

The adversary's influence on young people is particularly dangerous. Attempts are being made to infect students, secondary school pupils and even some of the older pupils in basic schools with hatred.

The results are obvious. Every day we hear of the irresponsible conduct of young people and of hostile attitudes toward the power apparatus and People's Poland. Some representatives of the clergy are playing a negative role in that community. One of the reasons for the adversary's activity is undoubtedly the propaganda support given to the domestic counter-revolutionary forces by the Western centers of psychological warfare, especially by the United States.

Martial law has curbed the destructive activities of our adversary and has created favorable conditions for rehabilitating the economy and consolidating party ranks. This has been possible also because -- guided by the Leninist norms of internal party life -- the party in the armed forces has preserved its organizational cohesion, discipline and ability to promote offensive activities. We have avoided internal disputes, mutual recrimination and the departure of valuable members from the party.

I must state unambiguously: The armed forces can give much help to the party, but they will not be able to replace the party in factories, higher schools and rural areas. This help can be effective only if it is backed up by the unity of the entire party; but there is still no unity, and we can see this at every step. We reflect on the lack of this unity and ask ourselves why it is so.

I think that the reasons that continue to hinder the rehabilitation of trust in the party and to delay the effectiveness of party activities include:

1. The divergencies in the party that came to surface after August 1980 in particular, have not been overcome. Nor have we been able to do much against those forces that from revisionist, capitulation or dogmatic positions undermined party unity and weakened party ranks. The attacks of the forces hostile to socialism, especially of the extremists in Solidarity, were greatly responsible for that state of affairs.

In the period of the greatest threat the party had to face, last November and at the beginning of last December, internal disputes lost a little of their vigor, which was a natural process. But today these disputes are beginning to gain in vigor again, although their character and range are different. Nevertheless, under the present conditions and in view of the present acute political struggle they are especially dangerous. Party unity is now a matter of particular importance, and this is why we must not tolerate even the slightest deviation from the party line.

2. The party is restricted in its ability to act by the importance of some party organizations in those factories and social communities in which the influence of the reactionary factions of Solidarity was the biggest. In such factories and communities party organizations have suffered the most painful losses, and this is why they are finding it so difficult to reclaim their identity there. The leading activs of the leadership of party bodies should be the first to develop activity there.

3. The lack of discipline and of unambiguous measures to counter the activity of the adversary, and waiting for changes at the top, also hinder the effectiveness of party performance. Party aktivs have done too little to cope with those negative manifestations.

Comrades, there are particular reasons for which we must rise above personal prejudices, occasional differences in views and subjective evaluations wherever the good of the country and the party is at stake. He who fails to see this point strikes against our ability to act and against mutual understanding and trust.

Differences in positions and views in the Marxist-Leninist party have their limits and are defined by the principles of democratic centralism. In no case can they undermine party resolutions. It is urgently necessary for the entire party to comprehend that, otherwise we will not move ahead.

That is why -- guided by the socialist fatherland's supreme good -- we will not support the reviving dogmatic and sectarian trends, and we will not support the people who are compromised, who seem to think that they are again in the possession of a patent for diagnosing and curing the Polish ills and are trying to persist in the illusion that martial law has restored the comfortable conditions and relations of the seventies. The vision of socialism they represent -- a vision in conflict with the principles of Leninism -- and a fear of any modification even the most justified one, of some solutions to date, are unacceptable at this time.

The fact that internal conflicts and the lack of full party unity can weaken our fatherland's security and defense, which is exceptionally harmful in the present situation, is not without significance. I am convinced that this plenum's resolution will contribute to the unity of our party in action and in struggle.

DAILY REPORTS PEOPLE'S COUNCILS RESUME SESSIONS

AU091622 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Mar 82 p 2

[J.M. report: "Sessions of the People's Councils"]

[Text] We learn from the Council of State that the people's councils are beginning working sessions again. There have been no council sessions since martial law was introduced, however the council presidiums, especially those of voivodship councils, together with their permanent commissions, have been tackling vital current matters since the beginning of January.

The people's councils at the lowest level in this voivodship [as published] are beginning a session on March 10.

During the first half of this year, the Szczecin Voivodship People's Council, its Presidium, commissions and the WKKS [expansion unknown] intend to tackle, among other things, problems concerning the food economy, small-scale production and how to make small towns active. It is also planned to appraise regional administrative work.

It looks as if all people's councils will undertake work on the socioeconomic plan and the budget. Their role in this activity is increasing considerably, in accordance with the law.

MINISTER CIOSEK VIEWS FUTURE OF TRADE UNIONS

AU091520 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6-7 Mar 82 pp 1,2

[PAP report: "The Future of Trade Unions -- Minister S. Ciosek's TV Statement"]

[Text] The Friday [5 March] edition of the Government Monitor TV program included an interview with Minister Stanislaw Ciosek, deputy chairman of the Committee for Trade Unions.

S. Ciosek said that the degeneration of Solidarity activities had been responsible for the introduction of martial law in the face of threats to the interests of the state and people. It is the government's inalienable right, he continued, to present its viewpoint on what was and on what should be. That which should be has been formulated in the "theses" for discussion. We want to have discussions. The theses are not meant to provide a definition of trade unions; they are meant to present our viewpoint so that we can establish a common trade union viewpoint with all our people.

The organizational form and model of trade unions, S. Ciosek stressed, will be determined by the will of the workers class and by what the working people want trade unions to be. This form and model should serve the working people and the good of the socialist state. We must produce a concept of trade unions that will enable them to harmoniously cooperate with all state institutions on the task of creating Poland's future shape, instead of demolishing and destroying it and creating a life of anarchy.

Discussing the future of trade unionism, S. Ciosek said that there could be no return to what had been before August 1980. Nor could there be any return to what was before 13 December 1981. Our aim is to make trade unionism a truly strong, genuine and veritable movement defending the interests of the workers class and the working people and constructively serving Poland's cause. Trade unions, S. Ciosek emphasized, should deal with all the issues of the working people's life and work. Common activities and common responsibility -- these are the other important matters we have included in the "theses." A strong trade union representing the interests of the workers class and the working masses should be an important element of the entire system of socialist democracy and should maintain its viewpoint on the affairs of the working people. We propose that trade unionism should have a considerable share in public life, and in government and economic management. But of course, this must go hand in hand with shared responsibility.

Discussing the right to strike, S. Ciosek said that such a right should be an inalienable possession of the working people, but strikes must not ruin the economy and must not serve political aims exclusively.

Discussing the conditions that trade unionism must fulfill, S. Ciosek said that it must absolutely observe the legal order in the state, respect the Constitution and recognize the PZPR's leading role among the people and in the state as well as Poland's international alliances. Trade unionism should have the statute, organizational structures and methods of activity that guarantee that it is really a trade union movement and not a movement pretending to be a political party.

In conclusion, S. Ciosek explained that the "theses" provide for the exclusion of some groups of employees from the right to organize trade unions. This is no discrimination; this is a worldwide custom.

Speaking about the structure of trade unionism, he recalled that in the present world trade unionism is based on branches and not on regions. Common work is what links the people. Common work produces problems and may produce conflicts. According to S. Ciosek, the organization of trade unions should be based on workshop benches -- that is, on the branches of production -- and not on administrative-territorial schemes.

Through the publication of the "theses" on trade unionism, we want to stimulate debates on this subject and produce a community of views, which means that the trade union model will be a result of the summing up of social deliberations.

COMMITTEE ISSUES STATEMENT ON TRADE UNION THESES

LD092228 Warsaw PAP in English 2033 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Mar (PAP) -- The theses of Poland's Government Committee for Trade Unions point out unequivocally that (?authority) has (?no) intentions to impose any pre-arranged conception of remodelling the organization of the trade unions movement.

A reborn trade unions movement should take on such forms which would result from the (?will) of the working class and the (?security) of the working people. It should express the interest of the country and [words indistinct] responsibility for the state of which it is a co-manager.

The committee, it has been stated in the theses, voices the conviction that the trade unions movement which will emerge (?from) the will of the working class would (?not) return to those forms and methods as well as the style of action that raised the protest of the working people before August (?1980), and would not accept those intentions, tendencies and actions that pushed many Solidarnosc activists and members onto the position of struggle against the socialist state.

The (?latter's) statements are being virulently attacked by the opponents of the socialist system at home and abroad, [words indistinct] for an immediate return to the situation from before last December 13. The issue of Solidarnosc, a union bent on [words indistinct] with anti-communist leadership on top, also is the subject of big "concern" of many official representatives of the Western governments. The West forgets or deliberately fails to see that the Solidarnosc leadership was striving for confrontation, street clashes and, eventually, a civil war. They forger that many activists of that union were striving for (?confrontation) [words indistinct] of Polish economy. These facts however [words indistinct] interrupt Western politicians when a promising prospect for violating the status quo in Europe appeared.

For its own good, the socialist authority must have in trade unions a strong, self-reliant, but also responsible partner. The undermining of the rank and importance of the trade unions movement already has (?cost) us a lot in the past.

PRESS COMMENTARIES ON FUTURE TRADE UNION ROLE

TRYBUNA LUDU on Strike Rights

LD091826 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Mar (PAP) -- The conclusions from the strikes which took place in Poland in the period up to 13 December are acquiring importance now that the subject of a new form of the trade union movement and the draft law on trade unions is being discussed, writes Alicja Bilska in TRYBUNA LUDU.

The organization of wildcat strikes, based on the disposition of social forces and not on legal norms, made one of the sides in the conflict -- authority -- ineffective in action and, in the final count, always giving in. In these conditions the process of dismantling the national economy proceeded with ease. Today it should be recalled that this happened with the wide approval of political centers in the West. The slightest imagined deviation from international directives acquired the rank of a problem, and at the same time it was kept silent that Polish strikes were not in keeping with international strike principles, that they had nothing in common with the directives adopted by the ILO.

The definition of legal strike norms in the charter of a trade union -- as "Solidarity" made -- is a new license of strike law. The ILO does not know of another such case in the world. A charter is a trade union's internal document. Charter law regulates the obligations and activity of trade union organizations, their organs and members of the trade union. Strike conflicts always embrace the employers and the workers. A charter, as an internal trade union document, cannot commit both sides.

All countries observe the principle of obligatory notification of the declaration of strikes at strictly defined times. In Polish relations this practice was applied only when a strike was directed against state power and bore the character of political blackmail. Such strikes are banned in the West.

In Poland, with time the strikes fully acquired a political character. This happened by means of a kind of evolution. The strategy, camouflaged in the initial period, concealed beneath the screen of endeavors for raising wages, of the struggle with difficulties and poor supplies, with time exposed its true aims -- the sowing of social discord, disruption of the rhythm of work, and striving for confrontation. As the aims of the strikes were exposed, the technique of their conduct changed. During protest actions acrobatic experiments were carried out. They were designed to test the effectiveness of the performance of strike scenarios, to perfect strike methods. The strikes were turned into maneuvers to exercise power on the scale of an enterprise, of a province and of the country.

More From TRYBUNA LUDU

LD091442 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Mar (PAP) -- "NATO representatives at the Madrid conference have written out into parts their hypocritical concern for the fate of 'oppressed' Poles. Only three months earlier no one in the West was surprised or concerned by the incessant wildcat strikes, organized in violation of international legal regulations, which led to a destabilization and disassembly of the economy and a disastrous decline in the national income," TRYBUNA LUDU's Alicja Bilaska wrote while discussing the trade union right to strike.

"The commentators of the Polish situation must be reminded of the fact that strikes which took place in 1981 and 1982 should be considered as illegal in light of ILO rules and international strike law," the paper went on.

"These commentators are well aware of the legal constraints on strikes in the West. They know perfectly well that the law confines strikes to an instrument of defence of economic interests only. All other strikes are inadmissible and considered 'wildcat'. Thus there can be no nation-wide or regional strikes. Economic strikes can only take place within an enterprise or one branch of industry.

"In Poland, economic strikes were gradually completely transformed into political ones," Bilska recalls and concludes by pointing to the significance of the experience of the last two years for the current debate on the new shape of trade unions in Poland.

Past TU Activity Analyzed

LD081828 Warsaw PAP in English 1703 GMT 8 Mar 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Mar PAP — Discussing the future of trade unions in Poland, Lt Col Janusz Michalczak analysed in his article in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI some of the characteristics of past trade union activity. "Activists of the branch trade unions were right in their belief that only such methods and means of action were admissible which are typical of pressure groups. Calmly and prudently, they raised and discussed with representatives of authorities disputed issues in the conviction that the only road leading to their solution is the road of positive, although not unanimous, negotiations, while the strike weapon can be treated as a last resort only in case of economic demands and not political ones.

"Solidarity used totally different methods and means of reaching goals. Strike was considered a political demonstration, while negotiations -- a non-binding accompanying measure, which should be used to compromise authorities in the eyes of the society.

"The first type of methods was compatible with the political system of the country, but the second type simply disrupted the system. The first type was aimed at eliminating social conflicts through their solution, the second type aimed at aggravating the conflicts and finding new ones, without attempting to suggest solutions which would be compatible with the existing consitutional-legal order.

"The working class, who will by itself decide on the trade unions it wants to have, should take into consideration the lessons of recent history. Let the future trade unions be independent of the administration -- but not anti-socialist. Let them understand that the only platform for their activities is functioning as pressure groups, not opposition political parties. Let them respect their own statutes and the interests of their members."

Structure, Elements Discussed

LD081534 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 8 Mar 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Wojciech Wisniewski, writing in SZTANDAR MLODYCH, justifies the view that the future belongs to the so-called industrial structures. Industrial trade unions are sufficiently strong to maintain their independence with regard to the enterprise or a group of enterprises and have an outlook broad enough to see class issues and to protect them from the strivings of narrow groups. A trade union which functions in an industrial structure also has the advantage of being more in touch with workers' issues and has a better idea of the specific character of production.

The territorial structure, on the other hand, as Solidarity's experiences demonstrate, was created for the needs of oppositional political struggle, and not to solve concrete human issues.

An extensive justification of these views can be found in an article entitled: To Draw Conclusions From the Past.

TRYBUNA LUDU also writes about the future of the trade union movement. It publishes reports from meetings of the paper's debating clubs which were held at the beginning of March.

If one were to sum up in a synthetic way the content of many hours of animated discussions, one would have to point out the following elements, in the view of TRYBUNA LUDU: Diligent independent trade unions are needed which will consistently defend workers' interests and, at the same time, through their acitivity, encourage the shaping of a solid attitude to work. Care about man and care that there be as many goods as possible for an equitable distribution must constitute one whole. The right to share decisions on the part of trade unions is closely connected with the duty to bear joint responsibility.

REPORTAGE ON PZPR LEADERSHIP ACTIVITES

Jaruzelski at Army Unit

LD092104 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Mar (PAP) -- A meeting of the basic PUWP organization of the staff of the 1st Warsaw Mechanized Division named after Tadeusz Kosciuszko was held here today, in which Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, member of this organization, took part.

Romanik, Grzyb at Meetings

LD092110 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] The meetings or primary party organization in all circles are devoted to the practical implementation of the resolution of the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum and to the issue of development according to the programme of the Ninth PZPR Congress.

The future model of the functioning of trade unions is also being discussed in factory organizations.

These were the topics for discussion during a regional meeting of the party aktiv in Chorzow which was attended by Jerzy Romanik, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and a miner from the Siemianowice mine. Similar meetings have also taken place in Gliwice, Jaworzno, Sosnowiec and Tychy. In Warta, Zofia Grzyb, member of the Politburo, met with the workforce of the mechanical equipment plant in this town.

Creative discussions at the primary level of party organisations is another indicator of the growing activity of party members.

MORE ON BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATION MEETINGS

LD100046 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Meetings in primary party organizations and among factory work forces are taking place up and down the country. The subjects refer to the practical implementation of the resolution of the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum, to the strengthening of the cohesion of party ranks and of party unity and also to the future model governing the functioning of the trade unions.

At a meeting of secretaries and of the aktivs of more than 300 primary party organizations representing the several thousand PZPR members of the Poznan Stare Miasto District, an extensive report on the course of the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum formed the basis for a broad exchange of views. The report was delivered by Jacek Trojanek, vice chairman of the PZPR Central Auditing Commission. Issues pertaining to the future of the trade union movement took up much of the meeting.

Similar subjects were discussed at the Marceli Nowotko mechanical factory in Warsaw. In voicing its support for the creation of self-governing and fully independent trade unions the party aktiv of this factory sees them as being separate according to industry and not split into regions.

ZSL SUPREME COMMITTEE PRESIDIUM MEETS 9 MAR

LD092246 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2115 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] The ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium has been holding a session. Roman Malinowski, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, presented a report on the visit to the USSR by the party and state delegation led by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The Presidium stressed that this was a visit of fundamental importance for consolidating and further developing the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Poland and the land of the Soviets. The Moscow meeting was also of great importance for strengthening the international position of our country.

The ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium stressed with satisfaction the coalition nature of the Polish delegation. This was expressed in the fact that the top representatives of the PZPR, the ZSL and of the SD took part in the delegation.

As the second item of the agenda, the stance of the ZSL on the draft statute on cooperatives and their unions was defined.

Further Assessment

LD100924 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 10 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Mar (PAP) -- At today's session of the Presidium of the United Peasant Party CC, chairman of the United Peasant Party [UPP] CC Roman Malinowski presented a report on the results of the visit to the USSR paid by the delegation led by Gen Jaruzelski.

The Presidium stressed that it was a visit of basic importance for further development of Polish-Soviet cooperation. The talks that the Polish delegation had with Leonid Brezhnev and other Soviet personalities were held in an atmosphere of friendship, openness, mutual respect and understanding.

During the talks, both sides voiced their anxiety over the worsening international situation and the consequent danger for peace worldwide.

This situation is considerably affected by the indiscriminate anti-Polish propaganda campaign and the sanctions and restrictions against Poland and the USSR applied by the U.S. and some governments of the Western states, which checks the process of detente and international cooperation.

The presidium of the UPP CC fully backs Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski's stand that "the policy of sanctions and the attempt at a dictate cannot change sovereign decisions of the Polish Government. So far, never in their history have the Poles yielded to foreign pressures."

The Presidium of the UPP CC stressed with satisfaction a coalition character of the Polish delegation, which was expressed by the fact that it was composed of supreme representatives of the PUWP, the UPP and the Democratic Party. The fact that the chairman of the UPP CC was a member of the delegation reflects recognition for the UPP's attainments in socialist building, its constructive role at the present period that is crucial for the destiny of the nation and of the state, and also of the UPP's commitment to implement fundamental principles of the Polish foreign policy.

BISHOPS ARRIVE IN ROME FOR VATICAN TALKS

LD081528 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] The secretary of the Episcopate conference of Poland, Bishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, arrived in Rome today for a visit to last several days. He is accompanied by Bishop Jerzy Strobe from Poznan and Bishop Jozef Rozwadowski from Lodz. Bishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, in the opinion of Western agencies, is going to discuss Pope John Paul II's visit to Poland, planned for the summer.

GLEMP DELIVERS POPE'S GIFT TO HOSPITAL

LD092136 Warsaw PAP in English 2006 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Mar (PAP) -- A ceremony took place at the Child's Health Center here today of handing a gift from [Pope John] Paul II. The gift consists of a scintillating "Gamma" camera used for diagnostic examination of internal organs with the help of radioisotope method, and data processing equipment attached to it. This is the most modern apparatus of this type in Poland now.

It allows to diagnose an illness in a painless and safe way. The gift was handed over by the primate of Poland, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, who after the ceremony made a sightseeing tour of the Child's Health Center Memorial Hospital acquainting himself with the history of its construction and prospects for expansion as well as with its medical equipment and therapeutic methods. At the nuclear medicine department, where the apparatus presented by the pope has been installed, the primate had an occasion to see on a computer (?scan) control picture of the brain of a year-old child. Cordially greeted by the personnel and young patients, Jozef Glemp visited the center's research section, its library and the cardiological and surgery wards.

Chairman of the social committee of the construction of the Child's Health Center Memorial Hospital, Prof Jan Kostrzewski extended thanks to the primate of Poland for conveying the gift presented by Pope John Paul II. He, simultaneously, handed over the committee's letter to the pope expressing deep respect and heartfelt thanks for the kindness showed to the hospital, monument to the memory of the children of Poland and the world who lost their lives during the Second World War.

"May we, simultaneously, ask that you kindly inform his holiness about the activity of the Child's Health Center, which for the second year already has been rendering [word indistinct] service through its outpatient clinics and hospital wards. In the next two years, after the third phase of construction is completed, a rehabilitation ward will start working, too." Prof. Kostrzewski said extending thanks to Primate Jozef Glemp.

Child's Health Center Memorial Hospital occupies an important place in the system of child protection in Poland. It is open to all the children who need highly qualified medical care and treatment. The basic criterion for admitting a sick child to the hospital is the nature of sickness and possibilities of medical assistance that can be provided by the center's staff operating modern specialized medical equipment including the Gamma-camera which has been just presented. So far, more than 150,000 patients have been treated and more than 1.5 million diagnostive examinations carried out in the Child's Health Center.

While thanking for the cordial reception in the Child's Health Center, Poland's primate said at a meeting with hospital staff: "Work undertaken by doctors who bend over a person, and particularly a sick child requires much self-sacrifice and something that is called vocation in the language of the church. While visiting the Child's Health Center I would see how much heart, tenderness and organized care there was. This inspires respect and deserves aid. I shall convey words of cordiality and gratitude expressed here to the holy father."

"I should like to stress that there is no fear of church or clergymen in the center. [Word indistinct] not be (?enough) of this. Church, similarly as doctors, would like to serve good. Accumulating such actions may bring on fruitful results for the Polish nation which we love so much', the primate said.

TV SHOWS DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY SOLIDARITY

LD092152 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] The material we shall show you in a minute contains some documents of the so-called Confederation of Independent Poland [KPN]. Its leaders are now being tried before the military court in Warsaw.

The union will struggle against falseness in all fields of life, since the community wants and has the right to live in truth. This commendable slogan is a fragment of the Solidarity program adopted at the first national congress in Gdansk, in October last year.

And here are brochures and books, found in the reading rooms and libraries of the Solidarity commissions, and in the regional reading room and press distribution center of Polish Independent Publications -- founded in January 1981 -- in Katowice at 17, Stalmacha Street.

Contrary to the loud slogans on ideological pluralism, the spiritual cause contained in these publications is very one-sided. Printed on Solidarity presses, and kept in the union's libraries, were only those which struck at socialism and the people's state.

Wide use was also made of the texts supplied by the Literary Institute -- connected with American intelligence -- in Paris. All this was advertised as indispensable literature in the work of a trade union.

Finally, one more observation: The publishing activity conducted under the auspices of Solidarity was -- for the people responsible for it -- a source of rather good income; income, let us add, attained by means of demagogic falsification of the truth about history and today.

DETAINEES DENOUNCE GOVERNMENT OFFER OF 'EXILE'

NC091348 Paris AFP in English 1330 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Mar (AFP) -- Detainees at the Jaworze Drawski detention center in eastern Poland have denounced as blackmail a government offer to free them if they leave the country.

They also have requested an investigation of the government proposal by international human rights groups.

The internees said in a statement dated March 5, which arrived here today, accused the government of not allowing them to "express our will freely." [sentence as received]

"The choice with which we are faced amounts to the following alternative: Deprivation of freedom for an undetermined period or banishment for life," the statement said.

Exile, they said, would mean to "abandon one's usual activities, one's house, one's workplace, in other words the...acquisitions of an entire life, and a lasting separation from one's loved ones.

SOLIDARITY BULLETIN RAPS CONDITIONS FOR INTERNEES

NC092029 Paris AFP in English 1946 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Mar (AFP) -- Brutality against internees and hunger strikes in protest of martial law have been reported from different camps by the latest underground bulletin from the Solidarity union.

Bulletin number three dated March 3 and issued by the clandestine Warsaw branch of the suspended union says that in the Wierzchow camp in the Wroclaw area of western Poland, 40 internees were beaten by their guards last February 13 for having attempted a protest against solitary confinement imposed on one of their comrades.

A doctor, said the bulletin, came to examine them in the evening, and two of the internees were hospitalized. The incident was followed by a 48-hour hunger strike, the bulletin added, and on Feb 16, an investigation team arrived.

A few days earlier, according to the bulletin, the internees had discovered in an air shaft a listening device which they put out of action.

It also reported from Bialoleka, in the Warsaw area, that a hunger strike took place in that detention center last February 13, to mark the beginning of the third month of martial law proclaimed last December 13. Several internees, according to the bulletin, intend fasting on the 13th of each month from now on, Solidarity added.

Cooperation has been established, the bulletin says, between the internees and common-law criminals in detention centres. The criminals, who may work outside, now liaise for Solidarity militants, who distribute their pamphlets among the population, it added.

Several internees, it went on, have been threatened with legal action, "under any pretext," by state security officials, if they do not accept the offer of settling abroad.

At Strzelce Opolskie, near the mining center of Katowice, in the southwest, a member of the regional leadership, Antoni Lenkiewicz, complained of having been brutalized for refusing to take off a medal of the Virgin Mary he was wearing, the bulletin said.

Mr. Lenkiewicz reported, according to Solidarity, that in his penitentiary, internees were kept in groups of three in cells of only 3 square meters (yards) where the water in the buckets froze every night and they had their heads shaven like common criminals.

Yesterday at a press conference here Justice Minister Sylwester Zawadzki stated that as a general rule, conditions for internees were as satisfactory as possible. He added that any complaints sent to his ministry were being examined and that he personally intervened when they were warranted.

SOLIDARITY NEWSLETTER LISTS 'WANTED' OFFICIALS

NC092144 Paris AFP in English 2127 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Mar (AFP) -- A secret newsletter published by the Solidarity independent trade union has listed 44 Warsaw area people being sought by the Polish Militia for internment.

The list notably includes Solidarity officials: Warsaw Section President Zbigniew Bujak, Ursus Section President Zbigniew Janas, and National Commission member Jerzy Jastrzebowski.

The report corresponds with questionnaires distributed in Warsaw area recently demanding declarations of all persons living in each domicile.

Under state of siege regulations, false statements are punishable by up to three years in prison.

TRIAL CONTINUES FOR KPN LEADER MOCZULSKI

LD082128 Warsaw PAP in English 2026 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Mar PAP -- The Military Court of the Warsaw District continued to hear a transcript of explanations made by defendant Leszek Moczulski during his earlier trial before the Warsaw Voivodship court today.

Explanations pertaining to charges contained in the indictment concerned, among other things, the concept of the so-called creeping revolution, promoted by KPN (Confederation of Independent Poland), and the participation of the accused in the Movement for the Defence of Human and Civil Rights (ROPCIO), and in work on establishing the so-called Free Trade Unions and Students Unions.

Expressing his attitude to the (?explanations), Leszek Moczulski dwelt on some of the formulations, elaborating on, among other things, the tactics of action of "the independence current of the democratic opposition [words indistinct]".

FORMER KOSZALIN OFFICIALS TRIED FOR CORRUPTION

Mayor Receives Prison Term

LD091446 Warsaw PAP in English 1418 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Mar (PAP) -- The voivodship court in Koszalin sentenced the city's former President Bernard Kokowski to seven years in prison, to a fine of 200,000 zlotys, forfeiture of property and of public rights and of the right to hold managerial posts for five years.

Bernard Kokowski was found guilty of abusing is post to misappropriate social property. The verdict can be appealed against.

Sports Director Sentenced

LD091632 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The Koszalin Voivodship Court has examined the case of the former Director of the Koszalin Sports and Recreation Center, Pawel Korecki. Pawel Korecki has been sentenced to 6 years imprisonment, 5 years deprivation of public rights and a fine of Z200,000. In justification of the verdict the court stated that the accused, abusing the posts held, took possession of public property.

ADAM MICHNIK'S PRISON ARTICLE ON SITUATION

DW090823 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 8 Mar 82 pp 128-138

[Report by Adam Michnik for DER SPIEGEL, written secretly in prison and smuggled out of Poland: "All of Us Are Hostages"]

[Text] This war was not declared. On a Saturday night officials of the security apparatus banged on our doors, broke the doors down with crowbars, beat everybody in sight, sprayed tear gas into our eyes, handcuffed us and transported us to the prisons -- as internees.

We were the first prisoners in this war by the communist establishment against its own people. This night action was the first victorious battle for the general.

We can really see how the decision of the Ninth PZPR Congress on the incompatibility of offices is being implemented. Jaruzelski, simultaneously defense minister, premier and first secretary of the party, also became the chief of the "Military Council of National Salvation," abbreviated WRON. However, Wrona also means "the crow." From now on Poles will forever associate this term with that ugly bird, with the caricature of the eagle which decorates the state emblem.

In the future, history will pay tribute to the precision of the action and to its perfect timing and skillful implementation. Historians will describe the consistency with which the resistance of the enemy was broken, and poets will sing the praises of the grandiose military triumphs this army achieved in the streets of Gdansk, in Warsaw factories, in metallurgical plants, in coal mines and in shipyards.

General Jaruzelski amplified the glory of the Polish military by also skillfully taking over the Warsaw Radio and Television buildings and the telephone central exchange. It is true that none of our leaders can boast of such successes since King Sobieski's battle before Vienna in 1683. Now musicians will compose symphonies, painters will perpetuate the victorious attacks, movie directors will make patriotic films -- all this in honor of the leaders of that December night. No doubt the Council of State will introduce a new medal -- for participation in the December 1981 campaign....

Let's put joking aside. Even though government propaganda is saying such things, let us, who are still stunned and shocked, rather ask about the meaning of what has happened in Poland.

During the night of 12-13 December, the communist power elite desperately began defending its position as the ruling class, as well as its power and the accompanying privileges. The status of the power elite -- no need to explain this in detail -- was indeed threatened, and not just in Poland but in the entire communist bloc as well.

The December putsch was certainly not aimed at implementing a communist utopia. Rather it was a classic antiworker counterrevolution in the name of defending the conservative interests of the ancient regime. Contrary to the contentions of official propaganda, this was by no means a response to an attempt to seize political power. "Solidarity" had neither a shadow cabinet nor a program for a coup d'etat.

The origins of the December chaos start with the fundamentally insoluble conflict between a social movement supported by millions and organized in "Solidarity," and the totalitarian structures of a communist state. The mere fact that an independent and self-administered institution supported by the people existed was in itself unacceptable.

Thus what was involved here was not just power but absolute power, meaning limits to the party nomenclatura; it was the style of exercising power, meaning the state of justice; it was the content of the compromise concluded between the ruling and the ruled, meaning pluralism in social life and the organization of self-management in the enterprises and on a territorial level.

The implementation of the reform program, which encompassed all these spheres of life, called into question the fundamental principle of the communist domination of state and society. It was obvious that the apparatus would not voluntarily give up even a small amount of power and thus conflicts were inevitable. However, we believed that they would take a different course. We did not think that the power apparatus would try to solve social conflicts with military force by putting the argument of strength in the place of the strength of argument.

This is not the first crisis in the history of the communist states. Yet anyone who compares the events of 1956, the Prague Spring and the Polish 15 months -- each of which are 12 years apart -- and who compares their specific characteristics, will probably notice considerable differences between each of the crises, despite some common aspects.

What was common was the desire for increased national and civil rights. The differences were in the dynamics of social changes. In 1956 the impulses for reform came from Moscow, that is from the hall of the 20th CPSU Congress where the party bureaucracy liquidated the shadow of Stalin that still existed and pushed the hatchet aside which the security apparatus had held over their head.

The movements within the party which rocked Poland and Hungary in 1956 had their origin there. In Poland the authority of Gomulka, who had just been released from prisons, provided adequate guarantees for both the Kremlin and Polish society. For the Kremlin Gomulka was a rebellious communist with whom they could nevertheless come to terms, for the Poles he was a spokesman of their national and democratic desires.

In Hungary the resistance of the Stalinist wing in the apparatus led to a situation where the street revolts began to dictate the speed of changes. The power apparatus collapsed like a house of cards. The Soviet intervention was a direct consequence of this fact.

In Czechoslovakia in 1968 it was circles within the party which realized that the economic inefficiency of the communist system and its susceptibility to squandering and backwardness would increase further unless profound reforms were made.

The characteristic feature of the conflict in Czechoslovakia was inherent in the desire of Dubcek's victorious liberal faction -- supported by the entire society in this respect -- for democratic reforms planned from the top and combined with a relaxation of the dependence on the Soviet central headquarters.

The Czechoslovak "socialism with a human face" had many aspects; from the moderate reformism of the apparachiks to a pluralistic vision of society as contained in the scriptures of nonconformist publicists. However, the decisive factor was the rebellion of the Czechoslovak leaders against the Soviet diktat and their desire to seek legitimacy for their power in support from their own society rather than solely in the offices of the Kremlin.

It was different in Poland. It is hard to speak of "socialism with a human face" here. Rather it was "communism with knocked-out teeth," communism which could no longer bite and defend itself against the onslaught of organized society. This social pressure had nothing to do with the use of force.

Contrary to the hysterical statement about "open counterrevolution" and "fascist terror in the factories" nobody was killed, and not a drop of blood shed, during the Polish revolution. Many observers were at a loss to explain this.

This history of the development of the Polish reform movement -- or of the Polish self-restraining revolution -- has its origins outside the institutions of official public life.

For many years groups of democratic opposition had existed and worked in Poland, benevolently supported by broad circles of public opinion and protected by the effective umbrella of the church.

Under the relatively tolerant course of the Gierek team -- this tolerance, by the way, springs from the ties with the West and from political weakness and not from political liberalism -- attempts at self-help and social self-defense were made, and independent intellectual life was organized and uncensored scenerios for a liberation struggle were drafted.

The crucial point of the program of these opposition circles -- the "Workers Defense Committee" (KOR) founded after the June 1976 strikes became the most popular-- was the desire to change society and rebuild social ties outside the official structures. The main question was not: "How can the system of exercising power be reformed?" But: "How to defend one's case before this system?"

This way of thinking affected the course of the August strikes, the form of the strike demands, and the program, strategy and tactics of the course of action taken by "Solidarity".

The vehement struggle over the reform of the totalitarian structures lasted 15 months. The climax of the struggle was just as untypical as was its course. The official declaration of war on society resulted from the nature of the preceding conflicts. War, said Clausewitz, is the continuation with different means of the policies pursued in peace time. This time it was a war against organized society, started by a state which is an instrument of the political forces organized in the Warsaw Pact.

The analysis of the mistakes committed by "Solidarity" will remain the subject of Polish debates for a long time to come. To recall the appropriate formula of Karl Marx: The people, like a woman, will never be forgiven for a moment of forgetfulness in which they allowed a scoundrel to dominate them.

The trade union, which in fact was a front of national solidarity, embodied all the good and bad characteristics of the society which had given birth to it -- a society which for 37 years had been living without any democratic institutions and outside the sphere of political culture, a society which had been systematically deceived, dulled and humiliated; a society which is simultaneously rebellious and circumspect and in which honor, liberty and solidarity are considered the highest values and compromise is too often equated with capitulation and heresy.

"Solidarity" was a democratic movement of the working world which functioned in an antidemocratic environment and within the totalitarian structures of a system whose only generally comprehensible legitimacy was attributable to the Yalta conference decisions.

The Poles did not have to be reminded of the content of these decisions, as Mr Nannen recently did. He seems to believe that human rights are due only those people who live west of Elbe river, with the whip and barbed wire remaining reserved for the savages from the east of suitable instruments to properly regulate the mecahnism of public life.

The Poles have not forgotten Yalta. Nevertheless, the problem was to translate the realities of Yalta into contemporary language. This was no simple task.

The powerful and spontaneous social movement, which shaped itself without any model from one day to the next amid constant conflicts with the power apparatus, did not have any unequivocally specified step-by-step goals nor did it have a clear idea about coexistence with the communist regime. It was readily provoked into debates over unimportant issues; ineptitude, and a lack of knowledge about the adversary and his methods of action.

"Solidarity" was able to strike, to be sure, but was unable to wait; it had full command of the technique of frontal attack but not of withdrawal; it had fundamental ideas but no program for gradual action. It was a colossus on steel legs, but with hands of clay; it was powerful in the factories, within the labor force, but it was helpless at the negotiating table. It faced and adversary who was incapable of telling the truth, keeping the economy going or even living up to his own commitments, but who could only do one thing -- smash social solidarity. This adversary had learned this skill to perfection in 37 years of power.

This partner -- the power elite -- was bankrupt morally and financially, and because of its political weakness it was unable to implement any sort of policy.

The political weakness was taken in "Solidarity" as a general weakness. They forgot, however, that an apparatus of force untouched by democratic corrosion can be a suitable instrument in the hands of a dictatorial power, above all in the hands of a dictatorship for which the place is getting too hot.

The communist system in Poland was a colossus with feet of clay but hands of steel. When the "Solidarity" functionaries demanded democratic elections for parliament and for the people's councils, they seemed to forget that such slogans were a cause for alarm to the rulers and signaled that their end was close.

Let me repeat: "Solidarity" never demanded that the communists be expelled from the government and that the state be replaced by the trade union apparatus. Yet, it is a problem that the ruling apparatchiks found such a program in the statements by "Solidarity". It is unimportant now why this is so.

The ruling apparatchiks sensed the widespread urge to dissolve the party committees in the factories, they were frightened by the specter of elections to the people's councils, they had nightmares about a national referendum on the form of self-government and they saw that drastic price hikes were due. Their answer to this was the coup of December, the last response they had.

"Solidarity" did not expect a military coup d'etat and was taken by surprise. It is not the workers who are responsible for this but all those who (like the author himself), owing to their intellectual activities, were called upon to shape the political vision of the trade union.

Parenthetically, the theoretical reflection concerning the subject of changing the system was lagging behind events. Apart from well-selling formulas, there was almost no political reflection. Practice ultimately overtook theory, this was not the first time that this happened in Polish history.

The fundamental -- although never exactly defined -- quarrel within "Solidarity" pertained to the pace and extend of changes. In the beginning the advocates of compromise solutions held a majority, but as time went on it became evident that the power apparatus interpreted any inclination toward agreement as weakness. All concessions had to be enforced by strikes or threats to strike.

The continuous strikes, skillfully provoked by the power apparatus, wore down the society which had already been exhausted by the difficulties of everyday life. The failure of positive consequences to appear in the form of tangible improvements in the quality of life led to a polarization and cast doubt on the sense of these tactics.

Some said: "No more strikes, this won't gain us anything." Others said: "No irrelevant strikes anymore; what we need is a general strike which will force the government to make basic concessions." It is hard to tell who outnumbered whom, although the latter definitely could be heard more distinctly.

These people, mostly young workers from large plants, demanded that the "Solidarity" leaders take radical action, and it became increasingly more difficult to prevent such radical action (even though Walesa as well as Kuron tried to do this).

The power apparatus was held in increasing contempt and not taken seriously enough. Hardly anybody believed that it would be possible to use Polish soldiers to attack Polish workers; hardly anybody believed in the option of a military putsch.

The cause of this was naivete and wishful thinking, as well as the long years of tradition in Polish history. Considering this, any attempt to terrorize the Polish society with the help of the Polish Army seemed hard to imagine. The preceding months had consolidated in the social mind a picture of the course of the conflicts between state and society in which there was no room for clear victories. The plans for gallows and proscription lists existed solely in the minds of party notables.

The trade union knew but one answer to the attack by the government: occupation strikes. The assault by the army on the factories made these tactics ineffective. Yet, the awareness of the uselessness of peaceful forms of resistance may have disastrous consequences. The blood shed by the miners of the "Wujek" mine can become a constructive lesson of the kind of language necessary to use in talks with the gover ment if something is to be accomplished.

What did the communist think about "Solidarity?" As far as they were concerned, the August crisis did not come as a surprise even though the course of the strikes, the maturity of the demands, the discipline and the solidarity of the labour forces were a shock to them.

To the Gierek team, which had been swept into power on the wave of a bloody revolt by shipyard workers in December 1970, it was a dogma to avoid armed confrontation with the worker class.

The admission of an independent trade union in 1980 was an act of despair accompanied by the belief that it would be possible to confine this movement to the Baltic Sea Coast, and to manipulate it and smash it from within as time went by. When the wave of the August strikes enforced the admission of a uniform trade union throughout the country, the power system could only hope to wear it down by means of provocations and to split it from within. "Solidarity" represented a deadly threat -- it countered the principle of communist ideology that the communist party represent the worker class.

The plan to destroy the trade union by "political means" failed. Nevertheless, the constant conflicts -- for instance, over political prisoners, the work-free Saturdays, the registration of the farmers' union -- as well as the personnel quarrels inspired from the outside weakened the trade union. However, this in no way improved the situation for the power structure. For this structure, disunited and poisoned by the struggle for power, a more important problem had arisen -- that of the party.

The party, understood as the organized community of its members, did not exist at all during the August strikes. This instrument, which in earlier epochs had been useful for the power structure in smashing social solidarity, failed this time. The system, in its attempt to revive the party, opened the proverbial Pandora's box.

On the one hand, they were looking for scapegoats and, in so doing, publicized constantly more shocking evidence of the corruption of the Gierek team. On the other hand, the party masses started to turn in their identity documents or, what was even worse, began to organize in "basic structures" which demanded a democratic reform of the party and the abolition of the Stalinist model which relies on the omnipotence of the system.

Ultimately this created the fundamental difference between the latest events in Poland and the crises in 1956 and 1968. At those times the communist leaders (Nagy, Gomulka, Dubcek) were able to capture the confidence of society. Thus the followers of party reform from the top had social backing.

In Poland the entire party dragged along after the changes. It was not the party that stimulated the changes of society; rather a social movement outside the PZPR caused changes in the ranks of the party. Viewed against the background of the goals of "Solidarity", the reform programs of the party were a gross anachronism.

The party reformers in Poland did not form a uniform camp. People referred to as reformers included such different personages as Andrzej Werblan, one of the ideological dictators of the Gomulka and Gierek eras; well-known publicist Stefan Bratkowski, one of the organizers of the roundtable discussion "Experience and Future" and chairman of the Journalists' Federation; Wojciech Lamentowicz, a 36-year-old scientific staff member at the party academy; and Zbigniew Iwanow, party secretary and leader of the August strike in a Torun factory.

Despite their difference they were all victimized by a paradox which belongs to the fate of communist reformers throughout the world:

They demanded the reform of a totalitarian party in the name of human freedom and social justice, and did this against the bureaucratic apparatus which suppresses freedom of thought and creativity and prefers mediocrity and corruption. Therefore, they could attack the structure effectively only if they organized a collective movement, but not as a faction struggling for power.

As a faction they automatically segregated themselves from the party and in addition they were forced in the daily political struggle to apply the same practices for which they sharply criticied their opponents.

The "basic structures" of individual party cells were an attempt to solve the problem of squaring the circle. However, they were too weak to win, and absolutely unacceptable to the system; they failed to weather the massive retaliation of the conservative structures in the party.

The Polish party reformers of the most recent era turned out to be a caricature of their spiritual fathers and older brothers from the Polish October and the Prague Spring. Their reformism seemed to be less abstract and more rooted in everyday life; it did not contain any dogged debates on the philosophy of young Marx, instead they discussed economic reform.

However, they did not go beyond beginnings. This movement did not meet with any support from the treasure of ideas of the intellectual world. It was an epigone and at the same time the final stage of the ideological destruction process of real communism.

While society availed itself of a normal manner of speech, the ideas of the party reforms remained couched in the terms of Marxist-Leninist "newspeak". As far as the party reformers were concerned, the central question was: "How can the party be democratized?" This was supposed to be a key to the democratization of society. To society, however, the central question was: "How can as many fields of public life as possible be extricated from the diktat of the party nomenclatura?"

The party apparatus accused "Solidarity" of being a political party rather than a trade union. "Solidarity" suggested that the PZPR develop into a political party which would struggle for credibility in society instead of standing rigid by the position of a trade union of collaborators of the power apparatus. This, after all, was the most precise definition of the social character of the ruling communist party. And that was decisive.

The democratic course of the Ninth PZPR Congress changed little in this respect. People compromised for good were democratically elected to top positions, among them Albin Siwak, who in his time was supposed to become a Polish Stakhanov, a model worker with the credentials of a functionary of the security apparatus in his pocket.

With people like Siwak in the Politburo, the PZPR could not count on social credibility. The new leadership and the program adopted by the party congress were stillborn. All the apparatus could hope for was a split within "Solidarity" and the mediating role of the church.

This was the very basis of its considerations. The concept was a front of national understanding whose pillars were supposed to be the power structure, the church and "Solidarity," symbolized by the meeting between Jaruzelski, Primate Glemp and Walesa. It was the last attempt to outmaneuver the trade union "without bloodshed."

The Catholic Church, which is the largest moral authority in Poland and in addition is strengthened by the Polish pope, undoubtedly leads toward compromise solutions. It was trying to build bridges for understanding, mitigate tensions, and exert a moderating influence on the power structure and "Solidarity."

But it was to be just a compromise, not a renunciation by the trade union of its own principles and goals. The common list for communal elections proposed by the power structure in September 1981 represented such a renunciation -- and the church was unable and unwilling to support such solutions.

This was the turning point. The trade union realized that a conflict was unavoidable and the state power obviously thought that the possibility of compromises was exhausted to the limit.

It must be admitted that the December night action went perfectly, and the total unscrupuousness of its executors played no small part in this respect. With tanks and bayonets the trade union was "pacified" and the resistance of workers in factories broken. But this triumph by the structure can have unexpected consequences and can become proof of political shortsighteness. With a bayonet one can spread fear, terrorize, kill, and wage victorious battles against unarmed people. However, you can hardly sit on a bayonet -- Stefan Bratkowski used to quote this thought of Talleyrand. With a bayonet, we might add, one cannot extinguish 15 months of freedom from the people's memory.

We have already attempted earlier to find an answer to the question as to why the state power succeeded in breaking the resistance within such a short time. Apart from the shock of surprise as well as the conviction that bloodshed was a barrier no Pole was capable of overstepping, there was an additional factor which decided the course of events: Russia's shadow.

The problem of Soviet intervention was often discussed. The press confirmed every day Moscow's unmistakable intentions. We were aware that "Solidarity" was unpopular in the Kremlin.

We discussed the assessment of the directions of Soviet policy which is involved in the Afghanistan conflict, in internal difficulties and in a complicated international game. There was no clarity in this respect. Some of us tacitly hoped it would be possible to create a model of Polish-Soviet relations where there would be room for Poland as a subject. We also believed the Soviet leaders would decide on armed intervention only in an extreme situation -- in case of civil war or an attempt to assume power. We held the view that the Polish power apparatus was rashly using the Soviet bogey to create the psychological effect of intervention without an intervention.

The course of events has shown that these considerations were rational; the Soviet Union has done everything in its power to hush up its participation in the December coup. The scenario which then took place was optimal from the Russians' viewpoint: "The Poles have started solving their problems themselves."

The state of war decree was bound to remind the people of Targowica, the gloomy symbol of national disgrace. In the Confederation of Targowica in 1792, Polish magnates joined together against constitutional reforms and called for the support of Russian troops. This led to the second division of Poland -- the nightmare of a Soviet intervention in the event Jaruzelski fails has decided the Poles' behavior. I dare to state this hypothesis with the conviction that this is another argument showing the large reservoir of rational thought and commonsense in these romantic people, another argument showing that the Poles cannot only fight but also think.

Nobody in Poland expected help from the West, so that the strong reaction from the Western public and governments has been a rather pleasant surprise. This echo is encouraging and in the long run can contribute to containing the wave of repression.

The outrage of the world public has an important moral dimension because it stresses that democratic values are indiviisible, that these values are defended throughout the world and do not cease to be values even if they are trampled on by soldier's boots. For detained and persecuted people this is an injection of hope, a true light in the dark tunnel of Polish everyday life in the state of war.

The actions of governments have their political dimension. They are part of the overall international strategy in which the Polish problem is just an episode, and we shouldn't harbor the illusion that things are different. However, there is one element of this strategy -- the demand for economic sanctions -- which is worth being discussed in more detail.

I don't know President Reagan's motives. I doubt that -- as official Polish propaganda claims -- the official sanctions are an expression of his annoyance that "Solidarity" did not succeed in restoring capitalism in Poland. If this were true, Reagan must be a half-wit.

I think the sanctions are an easily predictable response of the West to the military coup, and the responsibility for their consequences must be borne by the organizers of this coup. It is Jaruzelski and the Military Council, not Reagan or the Pentagon who are to be blamed for the catastrophic consequences of the sanctions for the Polish families.

The economy of communist states cannot do without Western technology and raw materials because it depends on them. On the other hand, generous credits cannot in any case be considered a factor which accelerates reforms -- the Gierek case is very instructive in this respect.

To an even less degree is it possible to reform a national economy by bayonets, denunciations and the police. Well, these credits fell into the mud. No wonder that this is a perspective which is not encouraging for the West.

Can you hold it against the Western politicians for wanting to have a Polish Government as a partner which has at least a minimum of credibility with its own people? Or for linking further credits to the restoration of civil rights in Poland?

Official propaganda is trying to portray the sanctions as an attack against the existence of the Poles, claiming that sanctions prevent democratic reforms and violate Polish sovereignty. I don't advocate sanctions, but it is mere cowardice for the responsible people to shift their responsibility to others.

It was not Reagan who ruined the Polish economy but those people who subjected the intellectual and material fate of the Polish people to their own narrow egoistic interests. What was to happen for these people to realize that the liquidation of independent institutions by methods of a military police dictatorship isolates them from their own people and all the civilized world? Where will things go from here? This is a question which is being discussed in all Polish talks at night; and the talks do take place despite the curfew.

On the night of 12-13 December the governing communists returned to their original status of 1945 -- to the status of a quantitatively small sect whose power is based on bayonets. At that time this was a sect of pro-Soviet Jacobins, today it is a sect of pro-Soviet Mandarins; at that time they defended their program, today they defend their privileges.

Historical experiences make us recall two different models for the outbreak of such crises. One is connected with Kadar, the other with Husak.

Hungary's Janos Kadar began the exercise power in 1956 as a Soviet satrap based on Soviet tanks. The first few years of his government were characterized by a policy of cruel repression followed by a slow "loosening of the screw" directed gradually from above.

From the beginning Czechoslovakia's Gustav Husak declared his intention to continue the "Prague Spring." Following the Soviet intervention all institutions of public life founded earlier continued to work initially. The liquidation process advanced very slowly. The people were forced to criticize themselves in a humiliating way and to denounce their colleagues. "Extremist elements" were eliminated and independent institutions liquidated -- and all this on the pretext that at least some of the reform work must be saved, thus the "Prague Spring" was murdered with the hands of its creators.

The Kadar model is a road from a socially destructive act of repression to the policy of paternalistic liberalism; the Husak model, in contrast, leads from a fictitious continuation of democratic structures to a total sterilization of public life.

For the Polish communists Kadar is a positive hero whose course they would like to repeat. Court decisions are accompanied by declarations on the continuation of renewal and reforms. The scenario of actions is easy to interpret. "Solidarity" is to be destroyed, the totalitarian institutions are to be made operational again and hopes for a worthy life are to be eliminated from the minds of the people.

"Solidarity" is to be destroyed with the hands of its former officials who -- broken and humiliated -- have signed statements of loyalty. The Military Council representatives tried to have Lech Walesa to accept these plans. They were unsuccessful.

A "Solidarity" without Walsea, Bujak and Slowik could only be a sham organization to be used to obscure an antiworker policy. A large-scale repressive action -- limited by protests of the Polish and international public -- includes the "pacification" of factories, the detention of trade union officials and propagandistic defamatory campaigns. At the same time, statements are repeatedly made that everything is okay and the situation in Poland is becoming more normal every day.

However, from the pulpits of the churches -- the only place where the language has not been fouled -- we hear words of truth on the state of the nation. There is talk about repression and about aid actions for its victims. Elsewhere we hear that there is resistance. Illegal newspapers are appearing and independent institutions are being set up again. No, this movement cannot be subjugated.

Here, at my new "home" which is guarded by armed men in uniform and protected by bars and barbed wire, I only hear bits of news about Poland and the world, instead I have more time to think.

These 15 months were a lesson of freedom. You can wash "Solidarity" off the house walls but not off the people's memory. How often the model character of Polish experiences, of the Polish struggle without bloodshed and without the use of physical force has been stressed -- a struggle consisting in the restoration of social bonds outside the official structures. This model will continue to function under changed conditions; it may prove useful not only for Poles but also for other societies of this geopolitical region.

However, it must be stated that the mechanism of the Polish coup d'etat may also be a model. It has never happened in a communist system that a military elite was the subject of power. Such a subject usually was the party apparatus and -- in times of intensified terror -- the state security service. The military men were only considered as being an instrument and when they made an attempt to become an acting subject they were eliminated. The fate of Soviet Marshals Tukhachevskiy and Zhukov seems to be quite convincing in this respect.

The Polish military coup may become a precedent. It is worthwhile considering the hypothesis whether Jaruzelski willy-nilly did not turn the power of the party apparatus into fiction when he decided to destroy "Solidarity." So far it was the party apparatus which governed while the military acted as its armed arm; today may be the military apparatus is governing while the party merely constitutes a facade for its power.

A military coup is one of the techniques of social change; it is a form which does not necessarily determine the contents. A military coup led to a dictatorship in Chile but paved the way for democracy in Portugal.

The military, the only communist structure which is relatively sovereign vis-a-vis the party and the security apparatus, can play different roles. An army, for instance, which is involved in the unpopular war against the brave Afghan people (which Marx in the 19th century called "the Poles of Asia") can play quite a different role than in Poland. Paradoxically, the Polish example could prove useful in this respect.

Here, behind bars, every gesture of human solidarity is like a breath of fresh air. I express my cordial thanks for this on behalf of my colleagues and my own. Every good news helps to live.

But there are also more difficult moments. For example, when a German Social Democrat says with reference to statements made by the vice premier of the People's Republic of Poland that the situation of the internees is satisfactory, I remember with bitterness the fate of German Social Democrats 45 years ago and the assertions of various foreign statesmen that everything was okay in Germany and that the enemies of law and order were being treated humanely. A governing vice premier appearing as an expert regarding his detained opponents is a grotesque and miserable figure, his German interlocutor is either cynical or naive.

A few words about the internee: We are prisoners without a prosecutor's warrant of arrest; each of us can be released at any time, if he is prepared to sign a statement of loyalty and play the role of a police confidant. The consideration of our guards is that a broken man is no longer capable of resistance.

We all -- workers, peasants, intellectuals -- are hostages. Our fate is to be a warning to other colleagues, our status a visiting card for other countries, we ourselves are to be a bartering object. Those who were sentenced for participating in strikes are worse off.

Like all the others we, too, have gotten into a new situation as a result of the "Polish war against Jaruzelski," as the Warsaw people call it. It is difficult today to come to a uniform formula of behavior. Every individual must answer the question before his own conscience as to how he is to resist evil. Everyone can only decide for himself how he will defend human dignity and how he will behave in this strange war which -- and this must always be remembered -- is a new embodiment of the struggle lasting for centuries between truth and lie, freedom and force, dignity and humiliation.

Let us reiterate, therefore, that there are no definite victories in this struggle, but also no definite defeats. This is a bit of optimism.

The belief in the latter has made me write down these reflections. It is my share in this war. I am sure, I will not be able to speak again very soon. Therefore, I wish my friends, above all those who are persecuted and fighting, much strength enabling them to pass through the darkness between despair and hope. And also much patience so that they learn the difficult art of forgiving.

MINING MINISTER MEETS USSR MINISTERS IN MOSCOW

AU092057 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Moscow, 9 Mar (AGERPRES) -- On March 9, Ion Lazarescu, minister of mines, had talks with B.F. Bratchenko, minister of coal industry of the USSR.

Possibilities were examined in the spirit of the top-level understandings of developing the cooperation between Romania and the USSR in the production of mining equipment, as well as aspects related to the technical and scientific collaboration between the two ministries in coal industry.

The same day, the Romanian minister had talks with P.F. Lomako, minister of non-ferrous metallurgy, and V.F. Zhigalin, minister of heavy and transport engineering.

VERDET, AVRAM RECEIVE BULGARIA'S CHAKUROV

Trade Expansion

AU061624 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 6 Mar 82

[Text] Comrade Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the government, today received Comrade Toncho Chakurov, minister of machine building and electronics of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, who paid a visit to our country. In the spirit of understandings reached during meetings and talks between the two party-state leaders, Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov, the sides examined the current stage of developing Romanian-Bulgarian relations of cooperation and collaboration and expressed satisfaction at the continuous expansion of mutual deliveries of goods, particularly of industrial machines and equipment. The sides also discussed issues concerning the opportunities presented by the national economies of the two countries for developing bilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation, particularly in machine building and for expanding and diversifying goods exchanges.

Visit Ruse Site

AU071447 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 7 Mar 82

[Text] Ioan Avram, minister of the machine-building industry, today had a working meeting with Toncho Chakurov, minister of machine-building and electronics of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The guest had visited industrial enterprises and research institutes for machine-building engineering in Bucharest and Giurgiu. He also visited the Ruse site of the Romanian-Bulgarian heavy machine-building enterprise. The two ministers signed an aide-memoire in Ruse concerning new cooperation opportunities in the area of machine-building.

SCINTEIA REPORTS OLTEANU'S VISIT TO PRAGUE

AU081255 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Mar 82 p 6

[Text] Comrade Gustav Husak, secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR received the Romanian military delegation led by Lt Gen Constantin Olteanu, candidate member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee and minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania, which paid a friendship visit to that country.

On behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the delegation head conveyed to Comrade Gustav Husak comradely greetings and best wishes for health and happiness, and for ever greater successes to the friendly Czechoslovak people in building the developed socialist society.

Expressing thanks, Comrade Gustav Husak conveyed friendly greetings and best wishes for personal health and happiness to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and to the friendly Romanian people wishes for ever greater successes in building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

The meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of warm friendship.

Present at the meeting was Army General Martin Dzur, CSSR minister of national defense. Also present was Romanian Ambassador to Prague Cornel Pinzaru.

During its stay in the CSSR, the Romanian military delegation had talks at the CSSR Ministry of National Defense, and toured military institutions and units, and economic and social-cultural establishments.

ION TUDOR APPOINTED NEW MINISTER OF TOURISM

AU091019 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Bucharest, 9 Mar (AGERPRES) -- By presidential decree, Emil Draganescu was released from the office of minister of tourism and sports, in view of retirement. Ion Tudor, so far the first deputy of the minister of tourism and sports, was appointed to that office. The same decree appoints Marin Dragan deputy minister of tourism and sports.

U.N. AMBASSADOR ADDRESSES LAW OF THE SEA SESSION

AU091425 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1205 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] United Nations, 9 Mar (AGERPRES) -- Taking the floor within the proceedings of the 11th session of UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, the head of the Romanian delegation, Ambassador Teodor Marinescu, Romania's permanent representative at the United Nations, showed that "at this final stage of the conference, the Romanian delegation considers that more than ever before there is a need for all efforts to be made in order to work out a universal convention on the law of the sea, that should reflect, as a whole and through each of its provisions, the stands and interests of all the states".

The speaker highlighted the exceptional importance attached by Romania as well as by other countries, to the fundamental concept of common patrimony of the humankind, a concept whose promotion was supported actively by Romania at all the stages of the conference. An expression of the new tendencies in the international life, aiming at a democratization of the relations among states on all planes, "this concept - the Romanian representative showed - should maintain and consolidate in the final text of the convention stipulations apt to guarantee the exploitation of the international zone of the submarine territories, to the interest of all states".

At the same time, the head of the Romanian delegation highlighted the need for a most careful examination of the problems left still unsolved so that by means of consultations and negotiations conducted in a constructive spirit, in patience and good faith, generally acceptable solutions may be reached.

Such problems, on which consensus has not been reached as yet, are those referring to the access of the geographically unfavoured countries to the biological resources in the economic zones in neighbouring regions or subregions, the passage of foreign military vessels through the territorial seas, as well as certain aspects concerning the final clauses of the convention. The consultations and negotiations on these problems must lead to Sine-qua-non improvements in the draft convention so that it may reflect the stands and interests of all states, by establishing just and equitable norms in the marine field.

PRESS REPORTS ON FATE OF IMMIGRANTS IN WEST

AU081330 [Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA on 4 March carries on page 6 a 1,500-word article by Doina Topor entitled: "Immigrants, People at the Mercy of 'Dealers in People'" describing the lot of immigrants in West European countries, where they have to cope with inflation, unemployment, economic recession and discriminations, and where they are at the beck and call of all sorts of dealers to make ends meet.

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 5 March carries on pages 1 and 2 a 1,500-word article by Ilie Tanasache entitled: "The Cruel Reality of a Failure" in which he describes the "tragic experience" of a young girl who was attracted by the charm of the capitalist world and who was unable to find a job in Austria despite her technical qualifications.

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 6 March carries on page 6 an unattributed report, based on UNESCO studies, on "the humiliating living conditions of immigrants" especially describing the circumstances of immigrants in the FRG, that country's immigration policy as an instrument of influencing the labor market, and the role and place of immigrants in the economic structure of the FRG.

Bucharest LUMEA No 10/4 March in Romanian carries on pages 21 and 22 a 4,000-word report by Craciun Ionescu entitled: "Regressive Souls" dealing with the "tragedy of the human condition of immigrants" on the basis of letters sent by Romanian immigrants from Switzerland, the FRG, France and Canada to relatives in Romania.

ECONOMIC TALKS, PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH BRITAIN

AU051959 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1909 GMT 5 Mar 82

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Mar (AGERPRES) -- Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, received on March 5 Peter Corley, undersecretary, the Department of Trade of Great Britain, head of that country's delegation to the 9th session of the joint Romanian-British commission on economic collaboration and industrial and technological cooperation, held in Bucharest.

During the interview they discussed questions related to the current stage of bilateral economic relations, the possibilities of further developing the Romanian-British cooperation in domains of mutual interest, of enlarging and diversifying the mutually advantageous commercial exchanges.

The same day the head of the British delegation was received by Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During the talk they discussed aspects of developing the Romanian-British relations and some current international questions of mutual interest.

The chairman for Britain of the commission and members of his delegation also had interviews at the Ministry of Machine-Building Industry, the Ministry of Machine-Tools Industry, Electrical Engineering and Electronics, the Ministry of Oil, the Ministry of Mining, the Ministry of Chemical Industry and the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade.

The ninth session of the joint Romanian-British commission on economic collaboration and industrial and technological cooperation concluded the same day.

The protocol of the session, concluded on the occasion, stipulates the measures to be taken for increasing and diversifying the bilateral commercial exchanges and the actions of mutual interest as regards the cooperation between the two countries also on third markets, especially in the domains of machine-building, electronics and electrical engineering, aviation, oil and coal, chemistry, agriculture, scientific research and other branches of mutual interest.

SYRIAN DELEGATION MEETS CEAUSESCU, SIGNS PROGRAM

Cooperation Program

AU091415 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] A cooperation program was signed in Bucharest between the RCP and the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party [of Syria] for the 1982-83 period. The document provides the framework for implementing the decisions and agreements adopted between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, and Hafiz al-Asad, secretary general of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party. The cooperation program was signed for the RCP by Comrade Virgil Cazacu, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, and for the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party by Asim Qansu, member of the National Command of the party and secretary general of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party of Lebanon.

Ceausescu Receives Delegation

AU092054 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1935 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Bucharest, 9 Mar (AGERPRES) -- Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP, Romania's president, received on March 9 the delegation of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, led by Asim Qansu, member of the National Command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, secretary-general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party of the Lebanon, now on a visit to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

The interview was attended by Virgil Cazacu, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP. Present was (Wahib Tannous), member of the CC of the RCP. [as received] The interview occasioned an exchange of warm greetings between Nicolae Ceausescu and Hafiz al-Asad.

Asim Qansu was highly appreciative of the policy of the RCP, socialist Romania pursue on an international plane, and showed his great admiration for the prodigious activity of the Romanian head of state, for his consistent stand and initiatives in the solving of the complex problems facing mankind, in the political settlement of the Middle East situation.

During the talk, the good Romanian-Syrian relations were highlighted with satisfaction, relations which have steadily developed on a political, economic, technical-scientific and cultural plane, in keeping with the talks held and understanding covenanted by Nicolae Ceausescu and Hafiz al-Asad. The joint wish was also expressed to deepen and expand the fruitful collaboration and cooperation between the two countries, between the RCP and the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, in the spirit of mutual esteem and regard, for the benefit of both peoples, of the cause of peace, security and national independence, of progress and international cooperation. In this framework, stress was laid on the importance of the programme of cooperation between the Romanian Communist Party and the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, over the 1982-1983 period, signed on the occasion of this visit, the conviction being expressed that it would contribute to the development and consolidation of the traditional relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parties.

The exchange of views on current international questions brought to the fore the particularly complex character of the world political situation following the intensification of the policy of force, aggression, domination and oppression, the escalation of the arms race which has reached unprecedented levels and seriously jeopardizes the peoples' independence and sovereignty, world peace. Emphasis was placed on the fact that, under the circumstances, it was more necessary than ever for all states, all peoples, the progressive and democratic forces, world public opinion take resolute action to halt the aggravation of the international situation to resume and further the policy of detente, collaboration and peace, of respect for national independence and sovereignty, for the political, negotiated settlement of the conflictual states of affairs, to eliminate force and threat of force from interstate relations. Stress was laid on the significance the cessation of the arms race, the passage to a gradual cutdown in military expenditures, armaments and armies, to disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, a stop in the deployment of new medium-range missiles in Europe and the cancellation of the existing ones have for the policy of detente and peace, fact which would contribute to lessening the tension among states, to eliminating the threat hanging over the peoples' life and quiet, to intensifying each country's socioeconomic development.

During the talk, special attention was paid to the Middle East situation. Emphasis was placed on the necessity that a global, peaceful settlement be achieved in that area of the world which should lead to the establishment of a just and lasting peace based on Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war, to the resolution of the Palestinian people's issue on the basis of its right to self-determination, to set up an independent Palestinian state included, of guaranteed independence and territorial integrity of all states in that region.

The necessity was pointed out of the resolution of the problems extant in the Lebanon, of the observance of the independence and territorial integrity of that state, the establishment of a climate of peace and quiet, of cooperation among all the citizens of the country, so that the Lebanese people may channel its efforts towards peaceful development, in accordance with its aspirations after progress and peace.

The exchange of views also pointed to the significance of liquidating underdevelopment, bridging and eliminating the gaps among the developed and developing countries and of establishing a new international economic order which should stimulate the progress of all states of the lagging ones in particular.

The interview passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship and cordiality.

PROTEST LODGED OVER SLAYINGS IN BELGIUM

LD091400 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1328 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG) -- L. Mouraux, charge d'affaires of the Belgian Embassy in Yugoslavia, was summoned to the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs today, where Milos Melovski, assistant federal secretary of foreign affairs, handed him a protest note from the Yugoslav Government in connection with the terrorist attack on the Yugoslavia Club in Brussels on 3 March this year.

The note protests most vehemently the renewed escalation of anti-Yugoslav terrorism in Belgium and demands that the perpetrators and organizers of this heinous crime be discovered and punished and that most vigorous measures be taken to prevent terrorist and other anti-Yugoslav activities in Belgium.

KRAIGHER ADDRESSES KOSOVO PRESIDENCY, ENDS TOUR

Speech to Presidency 8 Mar

LD092230 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1625 GMT 9 Mar 82

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Pristina, 9 Mar (TANJUG) -- Taking the floor during last night's discussion at the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, said, among other things:

"After the information and assessments which I have heard from leading people in Kosovo, both as regards controlling hostile activity in the province and other problems with which the whole of Yugoslavia will be faced but are reflected in a specific way here in Kosovo -- if we should draw some experiences out of the events in Kosovo, why and how they came about -- then of course it is this, that only through the development of socialist self-management socioeconomic relations and the development of socialist self-management self-management democracy as we have established it in our system can we solve the problems which have arisen and the contradictions of development. It is possible to mobilize working people in organizations of associated labor, in the countryside, and the towns, and it is also possible to mobilize the intelligentsia and young people in solving the problems which everyday life raises and in which they are directly interested.

The LCY Central Committee adopted a platform, and before that you adopted an action program. But now we must have concrete action and work. One cannot rest with general political assumptions, or slogans, one might even say. The League of Communists must enter into everyday life, the everyday problems of workers in associated labor, their mutual relations in the struggle to solve problems of production and the problems of the inhabitants of the villages, those working in communes and their relations with the town. Here the intelligentsia, high school pupils and students must also find their place. I think that such a specific treatment is lacking in existing programs.

We have no other alternative, or third way, as some say, apart from self-management. Even in the most difficult situation a solution can and must be found through self-management, the strengthening of the position of the workers, peasants and even the intelligentsia, where they work and where they solve their tasks, and the young people who are students or high school pupils must do this where they study. We must open up prospects for working people and involve ourselves in solving specific problems of life.

Sometimes one hears the view that self-management may be considered in some kind of normal situation, when things are sorted out, when we overcome inflation, when there is enough foreign currency and so on and so forth. Then, according to them, we might be able to achieve self-management. I think that if we were to accept such an approach in trying to overcome our current facilities, then we would enter increasingly and more deeply into crisis.

By means of the consistent realization of self-management it will also be easier for us to fight against indoctrination, and to create a mass and wide-ranging basis for the struggle against hostile forces, which are not only nationalistic and irredentist but, above all, against socialist self-management democracy and our nonaligned policy. If we want the working class to always be a force which will defend this system and form its mass base, then we must work out this principle in every work organization and every organization of associated labor which links the worker at his workplace and consolidates his position as a producer, and this the principle of remuneration according to work. I do not mean by this that now the focus should be transferred to distribution alone -- on the contrary, it should be the opposite. We must find specific economic motives which will mobilize the worker and encourage him to work better and for greater labor productivity. Labor productivity cannot be measured merely by a physical increase in production, but in its final result it must find expression in income. For this then is the economic result on which one lives. Income must become the expression of the self-management position of the worker, that is, he must decide in reality on the income for personal incomes, investment, education and health. This will mobilize him into fighting for a constant increase in income.

We will come out of the difficulties more quickly only if the worker in every workplace and everyday feels and can see what he has achieved in solving these tasks through income which the basic organization has achieved and through personal income on which his standard of living depends.

I am speaking about this because too much is expected of political action itself. Political action by the League of Communists, the trade unions, and the young people will not have real mobilizing force unless the economic motives of every worker are active in favor of carrying out our economic and development policy.

The working class in Kosovo is already quite numerous and organized in relation to its previous condition. Our orientation must be toward the working class, the strengthening of the position of the worker in associated labor, his workplace and the basic organization. Then we will find it easier to overcome hostile activity in Kosovo and undermine its roots. This is also the perspective of the intelligentsia. We must create that organic link of equitable cooperation through free exchange of labor between workers in the economy who create material values and income, and workers outside who develop their activities on this basis and eventually contribute to the continued development of the economy itself."

Comrade Kraigher also spoke about the problem of Serbs and Montenegrins emigrating from Kosovo, and other participants in the discussion stated their views on this.

"I think, President Kraigher said, that emigration is one of the most serious external expressions of major disturbances in the realization of our social system and in relations between people here. Apart from the fact that some high school pupils and students, as well as part of the intelligentsia, are indoctrinated with a bureaucratic vision of their future, emigration also demonstrates to us how far we have gone in eliminating the basic causes of such an out-of-date and reactionary consciousness, which is outdated not only here, but also in the world. This is bureaucratic socialism, and egalitarianism which relies on it.

Also, the slogan 'Kosovo-Republic' means an orientation toward the state which resolves all unresolved problems, as well as relations between people. Even emigration is a question of relations between people. Here some kind of general reference to the League of Communists and its authority, from either the past or the present, does not help. Of no help either are those loud, beautifully formed ideas and assumptions about socialist self-management and socialist democracy. They are just phrases unless they are connected with specific relations in which Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks and others in everyday life, in their workplaces, villages, settlements, local communities and towns, find themselves. In these places they have been linked fatefully throughout history and become accustomed to respecting each other and respecting the national, cultural and other values of others.

Still there are signs of distrust, intolerance and insecurity, and not on the basis of some abstract political or social, sociological phenomena or ideas, but on the basis of specific manifestations in everyday life.

Here we have our local communities, their link with basic organizations of associated labor, between workers who work and create income and the local community in which people live. In solving these problems we must not bypass even the municipality as the basic sociopolitical community, which is the first level of authority and which should ensure the joint interest and equal rights of every citizen in the region in which he lives. Unless this is done, emigration will not die away, nor will the phenomena in everyday life be eliminated which lead to the prolongation of emigration.

I do not wish to belittle the responsibility and role of organs which work on this, but without activity by the municipalities as self-management communities, and without their linking and cooperation with basic organizations of associated labor in this sphere, we shall not be able to solve these problems successfully.

I also link the question of self-protection with this, for if everything is reduced merely to repressive measures and legal protection, this may also be counterproductive. The troublemakers may be punished, but this does not improve the atmosphere and cannot establish mutual trust created by the people who live there. This is the task of self-protection, which should defend people from individuals or groups which create a psychosis of insecurity and pressure. Self-protection and territorial defense, as part of these specific things, should manifest self-management consciousness and a Yugoslav consciousness in the sense of brotherhood, unity, community, and mutual trust. Here we must involve all people who live in a certain territory, the old and the young and women. This, naturally, requires the suitable implementation of the zoning [prostroan] component of territorial defense."

Finally, President Kraigher spoke about League of Communists activity in the system of socialist self-management.

On this, he also had the following to say:

"Practice has demonstrated the full deficiency of the work of the League of Communists as well, but communists -- even if they were to work better than they have done up to now and work without mistakes; even if they had the most ardent activists in their organizations -- cannot overcome all these problems themselves, for they are too broad, it is the whole of life. That is why we have stated that we cannot carry out our role successfully unless we work through the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions, the young people and through the whole of the self-management socioeconomic system."

Visits Two Plants

LD091508 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Pristina, 9 Mar (TANJUG) -- On the second day of his stay in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, visited this morning the Kosovska textile combine and the associated metal industry in Pristina and held talks with representatives of these two collectives on the problems of running the enterprises and on current problems of the political-security situation.

President Kraigher, who is accompanied by Fadilj Hodza, member of the SFRY Presidency; Dobrivoje Vidic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia; and Lidija Sentjurc, member of the Council of the Federation, also visited today the Pristina Municipal Assembly. Current problems of the Kosovo capital city were discussed -- Pristina municipality is one of the biggest municipalities in Yugoslavia -- on which the guests were briefed by Svetsilav Jaksic, president of the Municipal Assembly. This afternoon President Kraigher will meet members of the economic-political aktiv of the province.

Meets Aktiv, Ends Visit

AU092145 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, has ended his visit to Kosovo. At the end of his 2-day visit, President Kraigher, together with Fadilj Hodza, member of the SFRY Presidency; Dobrivoje Vidic, president of Presidency of Serbia; and Lidija Sentjurc, member of the Council of the Federation, had talks in Pristina with the economic-political aktiv of the province.

Prominent economic experts of the province informed the guests about the Kosovo economy's problems and the efforts to overcome them. The importance and role of associating labor and pooling resources, as well as joint ventures for implementing the policy of the most rapid possible development of the province, were particularly stressed. The participants in the talks informed President Kraigher in detail about the political-security situation in the collectives, communes and throughout the province, as well as about the activity of the League of Communists and other subjective forces in this direction. Sergej Kraigher and Dobrivoje Vidic then addressed the Kosovo economic-political aktiv.

SERBIAN ASSEMBLY TO DISCUSS KOSOVO 12 MARCH

AU091935 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] In a conversation with journalists at the Serbian Asssembly today, it was announced that Velja Markovic, vice president of the Serbian Executive Council, will address delegates at a session of all chambers of the Serbian Assembly on 12 March in connection with the discussion on a report on the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. Viobran Stanojevic, Serbian secretary for internal affairs, will speak about the political-security situation in Kosovo. At the press conference, it was said that the emigration had been going on since 1961 and that periodically it was more pronounced as, for instance, in 1968, 1971, 1974 and last year. During the past Assembly discussion, delegates assessed the violation of the basic constitutional rights, such as pressures on citizens, discrimination in education and employment, burning down property or crops and damage caused to the cultural monuments, as the most serious acts.

SERBIAN SAWP PRESIDIUM SESSION HELD 9 MAR

Two Nominations Endorsed

LD091400 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1238 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG) -- Branko Pesic, vice-president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, has been nominated as the candidate for the office of the president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Following extensive consultations, this proposal was approved at today's session of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Serbian Socialist Alliance. The Presidium was also briefed on the conclusion of the Coordination Committee for Cadre Policy of the Serbian Socialist Alliance Republican Conference. During the consultations the proposal that Branislav Ikonic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, should be the candidate for the office of the president of the Serbian Executive Council, was endorsed.

POLITIKA Chief Replaced

LD091540 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1408 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Summary] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG) -- At the session today of the Presidium of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference Vukoje Bulatovic, president of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference informed Presidium members that the proposal that Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary of national defense and a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, be registered as the candidate for the office of president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia has received full and unanimous support in the course of the present consultations with the signatories of the social agreement on cadre policy and with other elements in the republic.

The Presidium relieved Vukoje Bulatovic of his duty as director of the POLITIKA newspaper organization and chief and responsible editor of POLITIKA after being elected to a new office, and appointed Dragan Markovic, the well-known journalist and public worker, as acting director and chief editor of POLITIKA.

ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE APPROVES SECURITY REPORT

LD091526 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1303 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG) -- At a session today of the Federal Chamber Committee for Internal Affairs (chaired by Joze Bozic), Drasko Jurisic, federal deputy secretary of internal affairs, briefed the delegates in this committee on the country's security situation. Jurisic stressed the increasing readiness and resolve of organized forces in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and our community as a whole to foil fully and permanently enemy activity by Albanian nationalists and irredentists.

The active participation, vigilance and timely reaction of organized socialist forces and factors of social self-protection, Jurisic stressed, have a great influence on the implementation of the tasks to suppress more resolutely and efficiently all enemy, criminal and other activity harmful to our society.

The committee approved the report and decided to make it available to the Federal Chamber delegates.

VRANJE SENTENCES THREE FOR SMUGGLING AMMUNITION

LD091530 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Summary] Vranje, 9 Mar (TANJUG) -- The bench of three in Vranje District Court, presided over by Ekrem (?Sljami), has sentenced Abduli Munis to 1 and 1/2 years imprisonment, Barjami Nader to 1 year imprisonment and Rahman Asip to 3 months imprisonment for smuggling 2,700 rounds of ammunition from Switzerland into Yugoslavia. The plan for the unlawful sale of ammunition was hatched in Switzerland between Munis and Nader. The agreement was that Munis should buy it and smuggle it into Yugoslavia while Nader was to be responsible for the sale side of the deal. Later, Nader brought in Asip.

Munis bought a Mercedes and put 2,700 revolver 6.35 mm and 9 mm bullets into a secret hold built into the car. After Munis arrived home the other two defendants were to come into the act but further smuggling operations were stopped by prompt police intervention.

MOSCOW NAMING OF CITY SQUARE AFTER TITO NOTED

LD091610 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1610 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Moscow, 9 Mar (TANJUG) -- A memorial plaque bearing the name of Josip Broz Tito has been placed on a building at the crossroads of Moscow's Profosyuznaya (Trade Bon) [as received] and Krassyn Streets, naming this square on the border between the old part of the city and its new suburbs after the late Yugoslav president. The gold letters on the marble plaque, fixed on the wall of the building at the beginning of Krassyn street, read: "Josip Broz Tito Square -- named in 1981 -- in memory of the eminent combatant of the communist and workers' movement Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980)."

The decision to name one of the squares in the Soviet capital after Josip Broz Tito, "the most prominent leader of Yugoslav workers and distinguished combatant of the international communist and workers' movement," was taken by the Moscow City Soviet last May, on the basis of a position adopted by the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau, and explanation says. Earlier, a similar decision was adopted by the city of Omsk, in Siberia.

The memorial plaque in Moscow will be formally unveiled later this month.